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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 1, JANUARY 1986

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18 April 1986

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

#### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 1, JANUARY 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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NINTH PLENUM OF THE 5TH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECIDES TO CONVENE THE 6TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF DELEGATES OF THE PARTY FOR LATE 1986

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 1-3

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In mid-December 1985, the 9th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee met to decide the guidelines and tasks of the 1986 state plan.

General Secretary Le Duan delivered the opening address.

The plenum reviewed the implementation of the 1985 plan. The year 1985 marked a step forward in the leadership and guidance of the economy by our party and state through the implementation of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Plenums of the Central Committee. Although the situation was one of acute imbalances in many areas and despite repeated flooding and drought in many provinces, the economy still recorded new and important achievements.

Grain output, although seriously affected by natural disasters, was still higher than in 1984. Livestock production, the planting of industrial crops, forestry and the cultivation and harvesting of marine products developed. The value of industrial output rose by 7.4 percent, with state-operated industry recording an 8.5 percent increase. The communications-transportation sector made efforts to insure the transportation of important products. A number of capital construction projects were built and put into use on schedule. Rather significant achievements were recorded in the procurement of numerous products. The agricultural cooperativization movement was virtually completed in many provinces of Nam Bo. The transformation of industry and commerce and the management of the market were intensified. Efforts and progress were made in scientific and technical work, in education and public health, in social work, in cultural, art, physical culture-sports and information activities. Deserving of attention is that many enterprises and districts throughout the country implemented the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Party Plenums well and have created for themselves a new and more effective position from which to operate.

However, the implementation of the 1985 plan was also marked by many weaknesses. Both industrial and agricultural production were unstable. Productivity, quality and efficiency remained low. The production of a number

of important products did not increase. In terms of value, exports rose slowly. Our efforts in the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce continued to be weak. Many difficulties were still encountered in distribution and circulation. As a result of shortcomings in the implementation of the resolution of the 8th Plenum and Political Bureau Resolution 28 on prices, wages and money, a number of complex phenomena occurred during the 4th quarter that adversely affected economic and social activities.

The 9th Plenum of the Party Central Committee set the tasks of the 1986 socio-economic plan, which begins the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, the aims of which are to gradually stabilize the socio-economic situation and lay the groundwork for development in subsequent years.

The 1986 plan focuses on performing those tasks that are most important, meeting those needs that are most pressing and bringing about strong changes in the implementation of the new mechanism for managing the economy and society and utilizing our labor, arable land and existing material-technical bases. Agriculture is always the front of foremost importance. We must rapidly increase the output of grain and food products; strongly develop the production of industrial crops, consumer goods and export goods; strongly develop the key heavy industrial sectors supporting agriculture, the consumer goods industry and the communications-transportation sector; and produce more export goods to insure that we fulfill our obligations to other countries.

In our country's current economic situation, we must display a high spirit of diligence in labor; overcome difficulties and hardships in order to accumulate capital for socialist industrialization; practice thorough economy; quickly apply scientific and technical achievements; utilize the various sources of goods and supplies well; and combine the economy with national defense and national defense with the economy with the aim of achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency.

The plenum pointed out a number of matters that exist with regard to improving planning and providing stronger guidance and management; intensifying the revolutionary movements of the laboring people, of cadres and party members, of the various management levels; building the spirit of collective ownership, heightening the spirit of patriotism and deepening the love of socialism and the sense of responsibility of party members and the people toward socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland; heightening the sense of self-reliance; applying the good experiences of basic units and districts; and mobilizing the combined strength of the state and people.

Building a stronger organization, efficiently deploying the corps of cadres and revising work methods are important measures in improving the economic management system.

The 9th Plenum of the Party Central Committee decided to convene the 6th National Congress of Delegates of the Party in late 1986.

The Party Central Committee is confident that, on the basis of thoroughly understanding the resolutions of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Plenums, our entire

party, all our people and all our armed forces will display dynamism, initiative and creativity, make every effort to develop each existing potential, meet and exceed the targets of the 1986 state plan and record worthy achievements in celebration of the 6th Party Congress, thereby making practical contributions to the construction and defense of the socialist fatherland.

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LET US OVERCOME EACH DIFFICULTY AND BE DETERMINED TO SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENT  
THE 1986 STATE PLAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 4-10

[Editorial]

[Text] With the implementation of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Party Plenums, 1985 marked a step forward by our party and state in leading and guiding the economy.

In 1985, our economy continued to encounter difficulties in many areas. Late in the 3rd quarter, prolonged drought or flooding occurred in many provinces. However, with the efforts of the various sectors and levels and through steadfast struggle by our people, we still achieved results and made progress in the implementation of the 1985 socio-economic plan.

Nationwide grain output rose by 400,000 tons in 1985 compared to 1984. Livestock production, the planting of industrial crops, forestry and the cultivation and harvesting of marine products developed.

Industrial output rose by 7.4 percent in value, with state-operated industry increasing by 8.5 percent. Transportation was provided for important products. A number of capital construction projects were constructed and put into use on schedule.

In the field of circulation, rather large quantities of many agricultural products were procured. Progress was made in controlling industrial goods. The socialist commerce network grew by 50 percent and the value of exports rose 7.6 percent compared to 1984.

In the provinces of Nam Bo, agricultural cooperativization was virtually completed in two forms, production collectives and cooperatives. The socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and the management of the market were strengthened.

Efforts were made in scientific-technical work, in education and public health, in social work and cultural, art, physical culture-sports and information activities.

One factor very deserving of attention is that many enterprises and districts throughout the country, having gained a good understanding of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Party Plenums, adopted new methods of leadership and managed, organized and guided production and business more efficiently, thereby displaying a progressive trend in socio-economic management.

New advances were made in combining the economy with national defense, combining national defense with the economy in all areas, most importantly in the northern border provinces.

However, industrial and agricultural production were unstable. Productivity, quality and efficiency were very low. The production of some important products did not increase and the production of some types even declined. The consumption of materials within industry was still too high. Losses and waste were excessively high. Production costs remained high.

Distribution-circulation continued to be a field in which we experienced many difficulties. The market and prices continued to change. The socialist transformation of private industry and commerce remained weak. In terms of value, exports increased slowly. The supply of export goods was not enough to fulfill the contracts signed with foreign countries.

The economy was developing well up until the 3rd quarter. However, in the 4th quarter of 1985, prices on the market underwent many complex changes that adversely affected many aspects of socio-economic activity. This situation was due to shortcomings in the implementation of the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and Political Bureau Resolution 28 on prices, wages and money.

Generally speaking, following the recent 5-year plan, besides the new advances and new factors that must be confirmed and which we must make every effort to build upon, our country's economy still faces acute difficulties. The major balances of the national economy, namely, those that involve grain, energy, materials and finances, are still very much out of balance. Significant changes have yet to occur in the structure of the economy. The new management system has yet to take a clearly visible form. The organization and the management of production still reflect a state of small-scale, decentralized production. The new production relations are still at a low level of development. The socialist economy has not been consolidated. Labor, arable land and industrial capacity are not being utilized well. The quality of cultural activities and education has improved slowly. Compliance with the discipline of the party and state and with the socialist system of law is not strict. There are still many shortcomings in the guidance and management being provided.

All levels and sectors must take determined steps to overcome the difficulties and weaknesses mentioned above in order to steadily advance socio-economic activities in 1986.

The year 1986 is the first year of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan. This is a plan of very important significance in fulfilling the socio-economic tasks and objectives in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism that were set by the 5th Party Congress.

The 9th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee set the guidelines and tasks of the 1986 socio-economic plan. We must grasp the basic view of the party so that we can analyze the specific situation and focus our efforts on those tasks that are most important, on those problems that are most pressing in order to gradually stabilize the socio-economic situation, stabilize the standard of living and create sources of capital, thereby preparing favorable conditions for stronger stages of development in the years ahead.

The 9th Plenum of the Party Central Committee asserted that we must continue to consider agriculture the front of foremost importance. Every effort must be focused on successfully resolving the food problem and rapidly increasing the sources of raw materials for industry and goods for exportation.

The number one task is to achieve the target of 20 million tons of grain. In conjunction with grain, we must strongly develop the production of subsidiary food crops, closely tie production to processing and gradually improve the diet.

We must accelerate the construction of water conservancy projects and provide an increased supply of draft power and water pumps in order to expand the amount of area under cultivation during the winter-spring and summer-fall seasons. A full and timely supply of fertilizers and pesticides must be provided to meet the requirements of intensive cultivation. Localities must allocate a certain amount of the foreign currency they earn for the importation of means of production for agriculture.

On the basis of stepping up production, we must practice thorough frugality in the consumption of grain and do a very good job of mobilizing grain.

We must encourage the development of industrial crop production and strongly develop livestock production. Movements must be launched to plant trees, plant forests and protect existing forest resources. We must continue to assign some land and forests to villages, cooperatives, army units and families to manage and use for business purposes.

Ocean fishing must be intensified. We must continue the strong development of marine products cultivation, especially the cultivation of shrimp along the seacoast for exportation. We must make full use of and apply intensive pisciculture practices in all bodies of fresh water in all areas of the country.

Together with agriculture, we must strongly develop the production of consumer goods, the production of exports and the key industrial sectors that support agriculture, the consumer goods industry and the communications-transportation sector. Export-import and overseas economic activities must be intensified.

Priority must be given to providing, in a way that is balanced and well coordinated, the material conditions needed for the production of those important products that have the effect of controlling the national economy.

We must encourage the rapid development of the consumer goods industry in order to meet the needs of the people and supply products to trade with

farmers. The small industry and handicraft production of cooperatives and families must be strongly developed.

Product quality must be improved, especially the quality of export goods. Once produced, products must be closely managed.

We must practice thorough frugality, reduce the consumption of materials and energy, increase the sources of raw materials by establishing broader economic ties and make use of discarded materials so that we can make maximum use of plant capacity, increase the output of products and introduce new products.

Efforts must be concentrated on restructuring production, restructuring product lines, improving the management system and restructuring the labor force of each sector and enterprise to insure that enterprises truly produce and do business at a profit. Jobs must be provided for the labor displaced as a result of restructuring production.

In the communications-transportation sector and the posts-telecommunications sector, we must complete the restructuring of production and the redistribution of labor throughout the sector. Efforts must be made to raise productivity, reduce production costs and reduce the consumption of fuel and materials. Cargo handling operations at terminals must be organized well. The quality of air transport must be improved. We must restore means of transportation and special purpose telecommunications equipment. The quality of information and post-telecommunication services must be improved.

In capital construction, efforts must be focused on key projects. We must discontinue the practice of uniformly spreading out our investments in capital construction projects and practice thorough economy in the use of materials and in all other construction expenses.

Investment capital must be allocated in the following order of priority: priority must first be given to the most important, continuing key projects in the coal, electric power, petroleum-natural gas, chemical, chemical engineering and communications sectors and projects on which we are cooperating with foreign countries. Then, priority must be given to projects that have the purpose of utilizing our labor and arable land. Importance must be attached to making investments that are well coordinated and making selective investments in intensive development to retool enterprises and insure that the capacity of existing enterprises is fully utilized.

To combine means of production with labor well with the aim of creating much material wealth for society, it is necessary to intensify the division of labor and the redistribution of labor; to restructure and reorganize production in all areas of the country, especially within the scope of the district, within the municipalities and major industrial zones and at basic units; and make good use of our labor, arable land and existing material-technical bases in order to strongly develop production and business.

At present, redistributing labor and providing jobs to laborers are a matter of special importance. In our country, labor is very abundant. At the same time, there are many existing means of production that are not being fully

utilized. If we learn how to combine labor with arable land and existing material-technical bases well, we surely can produce many more products to meet society's needs.

We are advancing to socialism from an agricultural country. We must bring about strong changes in the distribution and use of labor and arable land so that we can stimulate the more rapid development of agriculture and industry, especially within each province, each district and the new economic zones that still hold many untapped potentials, such as the Central Highlands, eastern Nam Bo, the Mekong Delta and the midlands and mountains of the North.

Within agriculture, arable land is a very important means of production. The use value of all goods is the result of the combination of two factors: materials and labor. In agriculture, if we have labor but not arable land on which to raise crops, agricultural products cannot be produced. Because, "labor is not the only source of the use values it produces as material wealth. As William Petit said, labor is the father, land is the mother of material wealth."(1)

In 1986, the redistribution of labor and the use of labor and arable land must first have the purpose of strongly developing the production of grain and food products and quickly increasing the output of industrial crops, export crops and consumer goods, thereby making positive contributions to stabilizing the socio-economic situation.

The municipalities and cities must establish ties with other localities, send labor into areas that have raw materials in order to develop local industry and small industry and the handicraft trades, expand the contract production of export goods and the processing of grain and food products and develop the commerce and service networks. The majority of the labor force within the district and province must be restructured and utilized along the lines of establishing ties between one village and another, between one district and another and opening additional basic units and cooperatives in order to simultaneously develop both the collective economy and the household economy.

A more intensive effort must be made to send labor to open new lands throughout the country under the guidelines "clearing land first at places where it is easy and then at places where it is difficult" and relying mainly upon the labor of the people, with active assistance from the state.

The problems being experienced in distribution and circulation must be resolved well. On the basis of developing production, the state must control the market, reduce production costs in order to reduce circulation costs and endeavor to stabilize prices in order to stabilize the standard of living and stimulate the development of production.

The price scale that has been formed with the new system of prices recently set by the state must be maintained. On the basis of the principle of the price of paddy being the standard by which other prices are set and establishing correct relative values between agricultural products and industrial goods, we must continue to set new prices and adjust some prices that are unreasonable.



As regards paddy, the procurement prices contained within contracts must conform with the standard price set by the central level. In the immediate future, to insure that the state procures all grain from farmers, localities are permitted to make procurements outside contracts at flexible prices on an area by area basis.

We must restructure the commerce system and reorganize the procurement and sale of goods so that the state controls goods and controls the market. We must expand the commerce and service networks. We must organize the distribution of goods directly to consumers at publicly posted prices. We must strengthen the management of the market and prices and harshly punish speculators and black marketers.

As regards exports-imports and the overseas economy, importance must be attached to investing in the creation of new capacity for the production of export goods within agriculture, the marine products sector, industry, small industry and the handicraft trades and providing a supply of materials for the production and procurement of export goods. We must restructure and organize export-import activities with a view toward quickly increasing our exports, closely managing imports and insuring that we achieve both high product quality and efficiency in export-import activities.

We must accelerate the implementation of the economic cooperation programs with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. We must expand our economic cooperation and economic ties with Laos and Cambodia in the spirit of mutual assistance.

We must encourage production sectors to borrow capital on the outside or establish ties with localities in order to increase the supply and variety of export goods. We must be extremely frugal in our use of foreign currency and prohibit the importation of luxury items, high grade consumer goods and products that can be produced and supplied domestically. Foreign currency must be used mainly to import supplies and raw materials for production.

To strengthen and develop socialist production relations nationwide, we must continue to carry out socialist transformation in suitable forms and stages.

The restructuring and reorganizing of production must be closely tied to carrying out socialist transformation and strengthening the new production relations within each sector and territory. We must develop and improve the quality of the state-operated economy, continue to develop and strengthen the collective economy and encourage the household economy to develop within the sphere of socialism. We must raise the level and improve the quality of agricultural cooperativization in Nam Bo.

We must intensify the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce, transform and reorganize small merchants, strengthen the socialist economy and stimulate the strong development of production.

Scientific achievements and technical advances must be widely applied in production with the aim of achieving the practical objectives of improving the

quality of products, raising labor productivity, economizing on materials, reducing production costs...

We must organize and make effective use of scientific and technical potentials, most importantly the existing corps of scientific cadres in the social sciences, the natural sciences and the technical sciences. Here, our efforts must focus on those tasks that are of primary importance with a view toward helping to solve the pressing problems we face with regard to production, living conditions, the improvement of management and national defense-security. The movement to make innovations, make technological improvements and rationalize production must be promoted.

Scientific achievements and technological advances must, above everything else, support the production of grain and food products, essential consumer goods, export goods and key industrial products, create sources of new and substitute raw materials and building materials and help to create high yield crop growing areas, new economic zones and districts and enterprises that produce and do business with high economic efficiency.

In the cultural and social fields, we must continue to successfully carry out the education reform program and improve the quality of education with the aim of molding the new, socialist man in every respect, molding his ethics, knowledge and physical conditioning, his sense of working to build the new society and his spirit of being ready to fight to defend the fatherland.

We must provide more occupational counselling and trade training and organize suitable productive labor at general schools. We must guide and organize production at technical worker schools well.

The network of colleges and vocational middle schools must be restructured. A rational division of training responsibilities must be established.

We must intensify cultural, art, informational and propaganda activities with a view toward heightening the spirit of patriotism and love of socialism, teaching socialist ethics and molding the new man.

We must improve the quality of service provided by the public health network, strengthen our efforts in the areas of hygiene and preventive medicine and provide the people with better health care. The systems and policies that pertain to disabled veterans, retired cadres, the families of war dead and families who have served the revolution must be implemented well.

Physical cultural-sports activities must be intensified and developed into a movement designed to mold the new, socialist man.

We must build and strengthen the national defense and security systems to insure that we meet the requirements of combat and combat readiness and defeat the enemy's acts of encroachment and occupation along the border and their wide-ranging war of sabotage.

In 1986, we must bring about a marked improvement in planning, one closely tied to improving the entire economic management system and beginning the

formation of a dynamic and effective planning mechanism, the dismantling of bureaucratic centralism, administrative management and state subsidies and the correct implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, thereby insuring the implementation of economic accounting and socialist business practices.

It is necessary for us to revise the lists of important products and key capital construction projects of the state so that we can concentrate on providing what is needed for their production or construction in a way that is well balanced, well coordinated and closely managed. The planning procedures applied in a number of fields must be revised and supplemented. We must revise the system of legal norms with a view toward enabling the sectors and levels, especially the basic units, districts and wards, to take greater initiative.

This year, we must establish the new management system in two areas: guaranteeing the basic units independence in their production and business operations while defining and strengthening the administrative-economic management functions of the state apparatus on the various levels in a way that creates favorable conditions for basic units to implement cost accounting and socialist business practices. These are the most important measures that must be taken to insure the successful implementation of the 1986 state plan and the successful performance of socio-economic tasks in the years ahead.

Guidance and management must be provided in accordance with a centralized, well coordinated plan for the primary tasks and objectives of the plan. Management must be unified and centralized. We must avoid counter-productive efforts, duplication and contradictions in management decisions.

We must organize the research and prompt promulgation of various policies, most importantly policies that provide incentive for the use of labor, arable land and existing material-technical bases; financial and banking policies; policies on exports-imports and the management of foreign currency; a policy on the practice of frugality in production and consumption, etc.

We must intensify inspections of the implementation of resolutions of the party and state, uphold the discipline of the party and the socialist system of law and make rewards and assess penalties that are fair and timely.

We must build a stronger organization, properly deploy the corps of cadres and revise work methods. We must restructure the apparatus of the party, state and mass organizations, dismantle unnecessary intermediary organizations, restructure the labor force of administrative agencies and reduce the size of indirect staffs at basic production and business units. We must correctly evaluate the capabilities and contributions of cadres in order to assign them jobs in a manner consistent with the requirements of the new management system. Additional cadres must be assigned to the districts, basic units and places where difficulties are being experienced. We must adopt benefits and incentive policies combined with educational and motivational efforts to attract scientific-technical cadres and economic management cadres to basic units, to the mountains, the Central Highlands and the new economic zones.

Ideological activities and the mobilization of the masses must be intensified. We must develop the spirit of collective ownership, the sense of self-reliance and the sense of making every effort in productive labor and practicing thorough frugality. We must strongly denounce negative phenomena of every form and refute the psychological warfare arguments of the enemy.

The mass organizations, especially the trade unions and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, must fulfill their role and responsibility in the formulation and implementation of the plan and work closely with state agencies in order to intensify, at the very start of the year, the emulation movement to successfully implement the 1986 state plan.

Party committees and state agencies must promptly discover, review and apply the good experience gained by basic units, districts and wards in organizing and managing production and business. They must mobilize the combined strength of the state and the people under the leadership of the party in order to develop the real potentials that lie in labor, arable land, sectors, trades, supplies, raw materials and capital as best possible, make every effort to develop production and help to correct the current imbalances within the economy.

On the basis of launching a nationwide revolutionary movement, our entire party, all our people and all our armed forces must bring a vigorous spirit to the work of building the country, work hard and successfully carry out the 1986 state plan, determined to bring about new changes in the national economy and record many, even larger achievements in celebration of the 6th Party Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx: "Das Kapital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book I, Volume I, p 66.

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EXCERPT FROM HO CHI MINH ADDRESS TO VETERAN CADRES AND PARTY MEMBERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 p 11

[Excerpt from Ho Chi Minh address to veteran cadres and party members on 9 December 1961; "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 261]

[Text] Some comrades have asked that we make STUDIES available free of charge.(\*). The review is also an economic entity. Its work is educational in nature but also economic. Does it not have to pay writers? Does it not have to buy paper and ink? (Someone responds: yes, it does!). Thus, if one person cannot afford to buy the review, then 5 or 7 persons can buy one copy together. If we were to make the review available free of charge, to whom would we give it? How many persons are here? (From below comes the answer: 900 persons!). We cannot give a copy to one person but not to another. And if we were to give all 900 of the persons here a copy of the review, there would be no STUDIES tomorrow. It would go out of business.

Ho Chi Minh

FOOTNOTES

\* That is TAP CHI HOC TAP, present day TAP CHI CONG SAN.

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## THE STEADY ADVANCE OF THE CAMBODIAN REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 12-20

[Article by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party on the occasion of the 7th National Day of the People's Republic of Kampuchea]

[Text] On 28 June 1951, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party was born to carry on the splendid revolutionary tradition of the Indochinese Communist Party founded by President Ho Chi Minh.

On 17 April 1975, following several decades of an exceedingly arduous and brave struggle waged with the support of international solidarity and our strategic alliance with the revolutionary movements of Vietnam and Laos, the Cambodian people, under the leadership of the party, won a tremendous victory.

With the victory won on 17 April 1975, the Cambodian people should have been able to enter the stage of the socialist revolution and begin to build a new and beautiful society. However, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan traitors, the loyal lackeys of Maoism, destroyed every revolutionary gain that had been made by the people of Cambodia. They turned the party into the angkor organization, an organization immersed in heinous crimes. Each base of society was completely destroyed. All human relationships within each family, within each village and hamlet and throughout society underwent major upheavals. Their barbarous genocidal regime killed more than 3 million Cambodians, and it will still take many more years to fully overcome the horrible consequences of that regime.

However, the Cambodian people, refusing to endure tyranny and shame, were determined to arise and win back their right to live. On 7 January 1979, with the sincere, unconditional, timely, large and effective assistance of the army and people of fraternal Vietnam, the Cambodians toppled the bloody regime that was the lackey of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and seized the right to be the masters of the country.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party was rebuilt and the People's Republic of Kampuchea was established, thereby bringing the nation into a new era, the era of true independence and freedom and the gradual advance to

socialism. This victory was the most brilliant victory ever won in the Cambodian people's long cause of building and defending the country.

Since 7 January 1979, when the country was liberated, the people and revolutionary administration of Cambodia have faced towering difficulties. [Photograph portrait of Heng Samrin appears here in text]

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary powers, particularly the reactionaries within Thai ruling circles, reacted furiously to the toppling of the reactionary regime of the pro-Mao Pol Pot genocidal clique. Through a variety of malicious and cunning military, political, economic and diplomatic moves and numerous psychological warfare tactics, they have tried to sabotage the nation's rebirth, divide Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos and divide Cambodia from the Soviet Union and the socialist community. They have been waging a war against our country with the aims of occupying territory of ours and bringing down the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Cambodia's national economy, a poor and backward economy that had experienced many years of war, was ruthlessly torn apart at its very foundations by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan genocidal clique. The entire structure of society was turned upside down as never before. The national culture was also in danger of being destroyed.

With the wholehearted assistance of Vietnam and the community of socialist countries, of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea mobilized all the people to focus their efforts on defeating the tactics and schemes of sabotage of the enemy while turning their hands to the work of bringing the nation back to life, stabilizing the population and restoring the economy, with the foremost task being producing grain to prevent the threat of famine.

In the face of the many difficulties caused by the decline in the labor force, serious shortage and the destruction of the majority of the means of agricultural production, the party and the National United Front for National Salvation mobilized farmers to wholeheartedly assist one another and join efforts within production solidarity teams. To date, more than 100,000 production solidarity teams have been established and strengthened. They have capably contributed to the restoration of production on two-thirds of the land used to raise rice. Paddy production reached 2 million tons in 1983, the equivalent of normal pre-war years. Intensive cultivation and multicropping techniques have begun to be applied in the various localities on hundreds of thousands of hectares. This, together with the cultivation of new high yield varieties of rice, has made an important contribution to gradually stabilizing living conditions.

Besides these gains that have been made in grain production, there are also encouraging results to report in the fields of livestock production, the planting of industrial crops... For example, the total number of buffalo and cattle currently stands at two-thirds the total number on hand during the pre-war period. Rubber output, although still low, is higher than the pre-war

level. However, the harvesting of this industrial crop, which is being carried out on nearly one-half the land of the former plantations, has begun to meet the needs of domestic production and processing and export needs. Marine and forest products are two abundant natural resources of Cambodia. Although the recent supply of these products has met a portion of society's needs, these resources must be organized, managed and protected well so that many more products can be harvested. In industrial production, total output has risen in value each year and a portion of industrial output has been exported. However, we continue to encounter difficulties in production due to outmoded machinery, broken parts and serious shortages of energy, supplies and raw materials. Deserving of mention is the fact that the traditional small industry and handicraft trades have been restored and their development is being encouraged. This has made a significant contribution in serving the rising consumer needs of the people. In particular, the resolution on the policy concerning the private production economy that was adopted at the National Cadre Conference of the Party in November 1984 has been an important factor in mobilizing the people to use each of their skills to actively assist the state in stepping up production and all activities supporting socio-economic life. At the same time, it has effectively directed the activities of each segment of the economy toward the socialist path.

To meet the very pressing requirements concerning the relations involved in social intercourse, which were completely severed and destroyed under the rule of Pol Pot, the restoration of domestic communications and transportation, although still marked by difficulties and obstacles, has also been quickly carried out within the highway system, the river transport system and the railroad system, thereby providing increasing support in transporting and supplying grain, goods and materials to the localities. During the past 3 years, air routes between Cambodia and Vietnam have been put into use. The domestic information and posts-telecommunications networks and the overseas communications network were also quickly put into operation and have gradually been expanded.

The rapid restoration of socio-economic activities to normal and the increase in production have been partly due to the issuance of Kampuchean National Bank currency. Recently, trade relations between the state and the people and among the people have been established and strengthened. A widespread and spirited movement in the splendid patriotic tradition of the Cambodian masses is being carried out under the slogan "it is patriotic for farmers to sell rice and agricultural products to the state, it is the state's responsibility to the people to sell goods directly to them."

Together with the restoration of the economy, achievements deserving of pride have also been recorded in building and developing the cultural, educational and public health sectors. In some respects, we have exceeded levels of development that existed under the old regimes. Today, 70 percent of the more than 1 million persons who were once illiterate can now read and write. Practically all districts have a level II school and 11 provinces and municipalities of Cambodia have constructed level III schools. Some 90 percent of school age children attend level I schools. Thousands of students are attending the country's 10 colleges and technical middle schools. Thousands of others are receiving occupational training in the fraternal



socialist countries. No one would have dared thought that a country which suffered the tragedy of genocide not long ago would now have one of every four of its citizens attending school.

Proud that the nation's glorious and precious traditional cultural has been restored and developed upon, the people of Cambodia are now gradually building the socialist culture, a culture richer and more beautiful than any other. In contrast to the times when imperialists and feudalists ruled the country, the culture, literature and art of Cambodia today are distinctly popular in character, as seen in the enthusiastic participation in activities within this field by all strata of the people as well as in the movie and literature-art units that regularly travel to the hamlets and villages to put on shows. The physical culture-sports movement is also an intense movement at many places in the country, and some teams have begun to participate in competitions overseas.

The widespread development of the public health network from the central level to the villages and hamlets shows that the revolutionary administration is very concerned with caring for the health of the people. Epidemics have been quickly brought under control. The death rate among women in childbirth and newborns has been steadily declining. Thousands of new public health cadres have been trained. These persons are performing the work of preventing and treating disease in the localities and serving with enthusiasm even on the frontline along the border.

Generally speaking, significant advances have been made in restoration and construction in all aspects of Cambodia's socio-economic life during the past 7 years. However, many more years will be needed to achieve higher quality and efficiency.

Cambodia still faces large difficulties because of its backward economy, which is also imbalanced in many fields. Material-technical bases are still very weak. The shortages of energy, raw materials and supplies have yet to be corrected. We do not have enough technical specialists, economic management cadres or skilled laborers to meet the needs of the country's development.

It will still take the Cambodian revolution many years to fully overcome the serious consequences of the genocidal regime and restore and develop every aspect of economic, cultural and social life with the aim of creating new and favorable premises and conditions for making the gradual transition to socialism.

The achievements that have been recorded by the Cambodian people during the past 7 years reflect six factors in the victory of our revolutionary cause:

1. From the National United Front for National Salvation to the United Front To Build and Defend the Kampuchean Fatherland, the Front organization, which, through its correct political platform, has brought the broad masses of all ethnic groups, of each strata and class within the country together and gained their enthusiastic participation in the revolutionary, was an exceedingly important factor in the historic victory of 7 January and is a source of strength in building and defending the fatherland.

2. The birth of the People's Republic of Kampuchea State marked the establishment of the right of ownership of the laboring people of Cambodia in the form of an organizational system consisting of the National Assembly, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the armed forces and the administrative apparatus on the various levels. This revolutionary state was established on the basis of the principle of democracy from the central to the basic levels. The legal validity of the state and the right of ownership of the laboring people within society are guaranteed by decrees and legal documents that have been promulgated.

3. The activists of the revolutionary movement are the corps of cadres of the various sectors and levels, a corps that has been continuously built and strengthened over the past 7 years. This corps is a valuable and important asset of the Cambodian revolution.

4. The economy, culture and education system are being restored in the direction of socialism.

From the very outset, restoring the economy and stabilizing living conditions have been closely linked to establishing the new collective production relations together with quickly establishing state-operated economic units. At the same time, the party and state have attached full importance to restoring the nation's traditional culture, to building and developing the culture and education system with a view toward supporting the objectives of molding the new, socialist man and building the new system.

5. Socialist international solidarity and the strategic alliance among the three countries of Indochina, in general, and between Cambodia and Vietnam, in particular, having stood the test of a struggle filled with challenges, have clearly been a basic factor in each victory of the Cambodian revolution as well as the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina and in the victories that have been won in the fight against the common enemy during each period.

In actuality, this strategic alliance, which has been strengthened and continuously made more effective, is a model alliance in Southeast Asia, an alliance consistent with the laws of development of our times.

The Cambodian revolution always attaches importance to developing and strengthening the socialist international solidarity with the fraternal countries within the socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, and uniting with each force for peace and progress in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

6. The factor that has set the correct course for the Cambodian revolution has been the leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party.

Following the victory on 7 January 1979, special importance was attached to rebuilding the party politically, ideologically and organizationally. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party has gradually matured, has become a revolutionary party of the working class, a party that is guided in each of its activities by Marxism-Leninism.

Although the number of party members is still small, they are establishing increasing roots among the masses on the basic level, mobilizing the people to display a high will and determination to carry out the strategic tasks of the party and make every effort to defend and build the fatherland.

The six basic and closely interrelated factors mentioned above are continuing to be cultivated and built upon. These factors are also the basic lessons that have been drawn from the exceedingly difficult struggle waged by the party and people of Cambodia during the past 7 years. These six factors have created the combined strength needed by the Cambodian revolution to advance to total victory in the struggle for national independence and socialism.

The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party held in mid-October 1985 was an important historic milestone along the path of development of the Cambodian revolution with the establishment of the common strategic task, the domestic and foreign policies of the revolution and the task of building the party in the new stage.

Firmly defending the national independence of the Cambodian fatherland and building the Cambodian fatherland so that we make the gradual transition to socialism--this common strategic task of the revolution was set by the Party Congress on the basis of correctly analyzing and evaluating every aspect of the country's situation in the recent past together with summarizing the valuable experiences gained in the revolutionary struggle.

The Cambodian revolution has entered the new stage under circumstances in which the country continues to be the hot spot in Southeast Asia and is both at peace and at war. The people of Cambodia must contend with the most obstinate and cunning of counter-revolutionary powers, powers consisting of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries within Thai ruling circles, together with their lackeys, the Pol Pot genocidal clique, the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudalists--who harbor the ambition of winning back the positions and interests taken from them by the people.

The ultimate objective of the activities of the forces hostile to the revolution is to topple the people's republic. They are employing military tactics to threaten the life of peaceful labor of the people and create opportunities for encroaching upon and occupying our territory. At the same time, they are also using psychological warfare tactics and the methods of peaceful change in a vain attempt to disorient, weaken and corrupt the corps of the revolution. Therefore, the Cambodian revolution is being carried out amidst exceedingly complex circumstances and the struggle in each field--the military, political, economic, diplomatic and, in particular, the ideological field--is still a very hard struggle.

Although they have been dealt heavy blows, especially during the 1984-1985 dry season, the remnants of the enemy's forces continue to cling to their "sanctuaries" in Thailand in order to have their forces strengthened and carry out acts of harassment at various places within Cambodian territory. This situation reminds the revolutionary armed forces and people of Cambodia of the need to constantly display high vigilance and be ready to defeat each

scheme and act of harassment, each overt and covert attack by the enemy. At the same time, we must make every effort to encourage those persons who mistakenly joined the enemy to return to their homes, to the revolution.

The paramount and constant concern in the leadership work of the party is to teach and mobilize the people to redouble their efforts to defend the fatherland and protect the gains of the revolution, considering this to be the foremost task. This task demands that the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people of Cambodia do all that they can to successfully protect the revolutionary administration, maintain the national independence and territorial integrity of the fatherland and provide security for the construction of the country so that we can make the gradual transition to socialism. The basic requirements of strategic significance are that we constantly maintain control on the battlefield and manage the entire country in every situation. As a result, the people of Cambodia have constantly developed the position of the revolution along the border and in the hinterland and continuously defeated the schemes and plans of harassment, encroachment and occupation of the enemy. To totally defeat the enemy, the real forces of the revolution in every field, especially the political, military and economic fields, must be quickly built, consolidated and developed so that they are strong and solid in terms of both their size and quality.

The Cambodians' ardent love of independence and freedom combined with noble international solidarity, especially the solidarity between Cambodia and Vietnam, have created the solid strength that will carry the Cambodian revolution constantly forward toward total victory.

On the basis of staunchly defending the nation's independence, the people of Cambodia are working hard to build the country and make the gradual transition to socialism.

Socialist construction in Cambodia means making Cambodia's society a society of true democracy and equality, a society in which the exploitation of man by man is abolished at its source, poverty and backwardness are abolished and the laboring people are the masters. It also means building a country that is independent, at peace, prosperous and progressive.

Giving full attention to studying the leadership experiences of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party is trying to apply scientific socialism correctly, in a way consistent with the country's specific conditions. The many revolutionary gains that have brought the country back to life in the recent past permit us to set new and important targets on the path of social progress in Cambodia in the next 5 years.

The new stage of the Cambodian revolution will begin with the first 5-year (1986-1990) socio-economic restoration and development program based on the guidelines set by the 5th Party Congress: making every effort to complete the restoration of the economy, reorganize production and build the socialist education system and culture. Efforts must be focused on bringing about major socio-economic changes by 1990, thereby advancing the revolution to a new stage of development.

Cambodia's national economy must gradually be built in a manner consistent with the conditions of the country. This requires socialist production relations and new, strongly developed production forces. The real strengths of the Cambodian national economy that must be developed are agriculture, forestry and fishing, which lie in four leading economic sectors: grain, rubber, timber and marine products production. These strengths must be closely combined with the development of industry, consumer goods production and exports.

The targets of the economic restoration and development program for the next 5 years are:

Increasing grain output at the average annual rate of 7 percent and providing a supply of 350 kilograms of grain per capita per year; restoring 50,000 hectares of rubber trees and harvesting 50,000 tons of dried latex; harvesting 200,000 cubic meters of timber and 130,000 tons of marine products; and expanding the cultivation of jute by 15,000 hectares;

Producing 300 million kilowatt hours of electricity by 1990;

Restoring important highways and water routes and the railroad system in a way that reflects high quality;

Redistributing social labor and meeting the needs of economic development and the requirements involved in strengthening the national defense system;

Caring for the material and cultural lives of the people, making an effort to meet essential needs and gradually stabilizing living conditions on the basis of accelerating the development of production...

The people of Cambodia will, in the spirit of self-reliance, focus their efforts on completing the task of restoring the economy. However, one indispensable factor is that of increasing our economic-technical cooperation and the coordination of economic plans with Vietnam so that we can develop our strengths. At the same time, we must increase our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries in building the material-technical bases of socialism in Cambodia.

In the new situation that exists today, the task of transforming production relations and reorganizing production along socialist lines is very large and complex. Some jobs are only in the initial stage and cannot be rushed or performed in a simplistic manner. The policy of the Cambodian party and state calls for the development of an economy that consists of four segments: the state-operated economy, the collective economy, the household economy and the private economy, with the state-operated economy and the collective economy playing the dominant role.

In conjunction with building the new economy, the policy of the Cambodian party and state also calls for building the new culture, building the new system of education, molding the new, socialist man and building the public health, social, scientific and technical sectors in a way that closely ties their activities to the realities of the revolutionary struggle, to the cause

of defending and building the fatherland. In the years ahead, we must give the broad masses a correct understanding of socialism and insure that the emotional, ideological and cultural lives of all Cambodian society undergo wholesome and correct development, development that takes the direction of combining genuine patriotism with the proletarian international spirit.

One requirement that is in the nature of a law and is an exceedingly important and indispensable factor in the stability and development of the Cambodian revolution is the traditional strategic alliance among the three countries of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. The Cambodian party and state are concerned with teaching cadres, party members and the people to forever preserve this strategic solidarity and alliance; to completely eliminate everything that reflects bigoted nationalism, opportunism and every attitude that is detrimental to the friendship among the three nations of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos; and to be determined to defeat each scheme and tactic of the enemy to divide and weaken the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina.

As soon as it was established, the People's Republic of Kampuchea State announced its foreign policy of peace, independence and friendship and won the widespread sympathy and support of the socialist countries, revolutionary movements and the peace and justice-loving people of the world. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party has always brandished the banner of genuine patriotism and the banner of proletarian internationalism and always closely linked the interests of the Cambodian revolution to the interests of the world revolution. The foundation of the international line and foreign policy of the party is the constant strengthening of our solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism for the sake of the common interests of the socialist community, of the international communist and worker movement.

Along with the two fraternal countries of Vietnam and Laos, the People's Republic of Kampuchean has been and is continuing to do its very best to encourage a developed and expanded dialogue within Southeast Asia with the aim of turning this region into a region of peace, stability, cooperation and friendship, thereby making positive contributions to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress being waged by the people of the entire world. The initiatives that have been presented at the conferences of the foreign ministers of the three countries of Indochina clearly express the correct stand and the good will of the three countries of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. The recent decision by the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam concerning the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces in 1990 as well as the intention of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to hold negotiations with opposition Khmer groups or individuals on the basis that the Pol Pot genocidal clique be excluded from these negotiations have been and are being welcomed and wholeheartedly endorsed by justice-loving public opinion throughout the world.

Building the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party into a solid and strong Marxist-Leninist party is a matter of decisive significance in insuring that the revolutionary tasks mentioned above are successfully performed.

The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party set guidelines for building the party that focus on two key issues: building truly strong and solid basic organizations of the party and successfully building a corps of cadres that is of sufficient size and high quality, with importance attached first to key cadres on the central, provincial and municipal levels.

In the new stage of the revolution, we are sure to face new challenges. The people of Cambodia clearly recognize that as they travel the path that lies ahead, the struggle to maintain national independence and build the fatherland as we make the gradual transition to socialism will continue to be complex, bitter and long.

However, the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people of Cambodia, exceedingly optimistic, inspired by the success of the recent stage and more confident than ever before, are determined to grow in every respect in order to make the decision of the 5th Party Congress a beautiful reality.

No reactionary power can impede the people of Cambodia under the leadership of the party from winning many larger and more glorious victories in the cause of defending their sacred national rights, building an increasingly solid and strong People's Republic of Kampuchea and making important contributions to the cause of strengthening peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Through TAP CHI CONG SAN and on behalf of the entire party and all the people of Cambodia, I extend to the heroic people of Vietnam under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, headed by the esteemed General Secretary Le Duan, the warmest and deepest feelings of fraternal solidarity. We pledge to make every effort to strengthen the great friendship, the special militant solidarity and the comprehensive cooperation between Cambodia and Vietnam so that they remain forever strong.

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## PRACTICING DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 21-24

[Article by Nguyen Huu Tho commemorating the 40th anniversary of the first general election (6 January 1946-6 January 1986)]

[Text] The first general election of our country was held on 6 January 1946 following the victory won by our people in the August Revolution and the birth of the first democratic republic state with the reading of the Declaration of Independence on 2 September 1945.

Only 4 months after independence had been won, at a time when Nam Bo and southern Trung Bo were waging the resistance, at a time when Bac Bo had to deal with several hundred thousand troops of Lu Han and Vietnamese traitors hiding as members of the Vietnam Nationalist Party and the Vietnam Revolutionary League, some of whose leaders had joined the provisional coalition government, and in the midst of serious and widespread famine, the Party Central Committee and Uncle Ho decided to hold a nationwide general election in accordance with the following principles: a free election, direct and secret ballots and universal suffrage. Each citizen, regardless of sex, political affiliation, religious belief and nationality, had the right to vote and could vote for whomever he or she chose.

Viewed against the background of the general election, we clearly see the confidence that the Party Central Committee and Uncle Ho had in the masses of the country. In calling for a general election under such conditions, the Party Central Committee and Uncle Ho wanted to give our people the deciding voice in the exceedingly large issues being faced and to do so at a very delicate point in time for the country. And, this voice was: the people expressed their total confidence in the Viet Minh Front, in the national salvation mass organizations under the leadership of their vanguard party, a party which, in a foreign policy move, had declared itself disbanded. However, everyone knew the role being played by the party as helmsman, steering us through those turbulent waters.

For the first time in the history of Vietnam, tens of millions of voters went to the polls as the masters of the fatherland's destiny. Of course, there had been elections prior to then: there was the election of the Parliament in central and northern Vietnam and the elections of the Administrative Council



and the Regional Council in the South. But those elections were not elections in which the laboring people participated. Voters had to be members of the "propertied" classes. Candidates for election had to be influential lackeys of the colonialists, except for the Administrative Council election in the democratic movement, in which some candidates for office were members of the Democratic Front, which was a temporary concession made by the ruling class in the face of pressure exerted by our people combined with pressure exerted by the Popular Front in France.

As a result, the response to the general election on 6 January 1946 was enthusiastic. The attempt by reactionary groups to sabotage the election was defeated. They appealed to the masses to "boycott" the election. More than appealing, they also used armed force to threaten the masses. Within the enemy held zone, the French invaders did everything they could to impede the election but the percentage of voters who went to the polls was still very high. In Saigon-Cho Lon, citizens of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam bravely exercised their right to vote in the face of enemy bayonets. Mobile ballot boxes were stained with the blood of both election organizers and voters. It was perhaps the most unique election in the history of elections in the world. The city collected several tens of thousands of ballots and hundreds of cadres were killed or imprisoned.

The general election reflected the ardent aspiration and the determination of the people of the entire country to achieve independence and democracy. The National Assembly that was elected on 6 January 1946 was the unified National Assembly of the entire country. It can be said that it was not after 30 April 1975, but 29 years earlier that our people reunified the nation from a legal perspective. Even after the signing of the Geneva Accords, the deputies from the South continued to serve their terms in the National Assembly as a symbol of our national unity and determination to achieve the goal of the total liberation of the country.

Since the general election in 1946, our country has undergone many changes and the National Assembly has been re-elected many times. The political task of the National Assembly has changed with each period. The first National Assembly was the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The current National Assembly--some 40 years later--is the highest organ of state power of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This has been a forward process, a process reflecting the continuous development of the revolution and important changes in social relations together with the goals of each stage in history. Prior to 1975, the National Assembly was the National Assembly of the resistance for national salvation. Since 1975, it has been the unified National Assembly building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Our National Assembly, regardless of the country's stage of development, has always served the functions of being "the highest representative body of the people, the highest body of state power" "the only body with the authority to draft the Constitution and make laws"; the body that "decides basic domestic and foreign policies, the targets of economic and cultural development and the primary regulations concerning the organization and operation of the state apparatus, social relations and the activities of the citizen"; and "the body that exercises the highest supervision of all activities of the state"(Article

82 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam). Article 83, which defines the tasks and authority of the National Assembly in greater detail, consists of 15 points, which include "the authority to decide the state plan"; "the authority to draft the state budget"; "the authority to elect and remove from office the chairman, vice chairmen and other members of the Council of State and the chairman, vice chairmen and other members of the Council of Ministers"; "the authority to establish or disband ministries and state commissions"; "the authority to set, revise or repeal taxes"; "and the authority to decide issues of war and peace." At the end of Article 83, the Constitution even gives the National Assembly permission to "set for itself other tasks and assume other authority when deemed necessary." The Constitution--the basic law of the state--gives the National Assembly broad authority and tasks, all of which originate in the traditions of our people's struggle for democratic freedoms and their struggle for national independence and in our party's goals of liberating man politically, culturally and economically combined with the democratic achievements of the socialist countries and the people of the world in this civilized age. The National Assembly, therefore, is the embodiment of the rights of the laboring people, rights that are written down in document form and guaranteed, as they are in every highly developed democracy of the world.

Of course, the process of democratizing a country--even a socialist country--cannot be measured merely in terms of documents, be they the Constitution or highly detailed regulations. We know that a democracy never exists as an entity divorced from social circumstances. Socialist democracy, which is essentially proletarian democracy, must be continuously perfected through advances made in transforming and building society, the determining factors in which are the level of development of production forces and production relations and the cultural standards of the people. In the final analysis, socialist democracy is the democracy of large-scale industrial production. In countries such as ours that are advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism, the management and exercise of democracy are, of course, not the same as they are in countries that achieved a certain level of industrial development before building socialist society. This leap forward is a political inevitability under certain specific conditions; however, it also always requires exceedingly intense efforts in order to record achievements in the form of material-technical bases and cultural standards that correspond to political achievements. The thirst for democracy is truly one of the main forces behind the revolution. But once the revolution wins victory and socialism, once a dream, becomes reality, the democratic system becomes an instrument consisting of specific regulations that establish the obligations and rights of each individual or collective in society in a manner consistent with the actual circumstances that exist during each stage of development of each country--including international circumstances.

We cannot be utopian in our view and include in socialist democracy elements that far exceed the objective basis needed to insure that it become a factor in the everyday life of society. The vitality of socialist democracy is the conscious awareness of the rights of the citizen and the ability to exercise these rights on the part of the mass of laboring people. Socialist democracy is not a matter of a favor handed down from above, albeit exceedingly generous.

Socialist democracy must be accepted as the well coordinated implementation of a series of activities--all of which are of fundamental importance: the practice of democracy within the party in power; the practice of democracy within each social organization; political democracy and economic democracy; democracy on the upper level and democracy on the lower level; democracy between the upper and lower levels... If we call for the practice of democracy and employ all sorts of terms to describe its importance but the laborer is not given a wider voice in, for example, the management of the economy, the use of the products he produces and so forth, democracy will, in the end, be nothing more than an empty slogan. With bureaucratic centralism, we can never achieve complete democracy.

In view of our present circumstances, developing the practice of democracy essentially entails dismantling the bureaucratic centralism that exists in the various fields of guiding the work of the country. The democratic movement is a movement against bureaucratic centralism in all of its forms and degrees.

As the National Assembly enters its 41st year, it has set for itself the task of drawing lessons and experiences from throughout the course of its existence, especially the past 10 years. These are lessons and experiences that relate to giving expression to democratic rights in socialist construction. What must be emphasized first is that we will not find democracy anywhere outside socialism--more precisely stated, socialism in our country--in the initial stage of the period of transition. We will not find strength anywhere outside the liberated strength of socialism.

There are no questions that need be discussed concerning the articles of the Constitution regarding the responsibilities and authority of the National Assembly. The questions that need be faced concern the fulfillment of these responsibilities and the exercise of this authority.

Let us begin with the selection of deputies. The current tasks of the country demand that those who represent citizens within the National Assembly voice the thinking and feelings of citizens concerning the specific and general requirements of each member of society, especially of manual workers, farmers, intellectuals, youths, the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities, the armed forces... The makeup of the National Assembly must reflect national unity. However, the National Assembly must primarily be the highest organ of state power. In particular, it must consist of persons who possess the knowledge and capabilities needed to undertake this important responsibility. The consultative conference held to discuss the list of candidates for election to the National Assembly absolutely must reflect the spirit mentioned above and do everything possible to avoid a symbolic "balance" as well as the National Assembly ultimately only consisting of cadres who have no ties to the basic level. In such cases, the National Assembly cannot be a body of national power nor a body that represents the masses. The National Assembly is the perfect embodiment of "the state manages, the people exercise ownership." It is the place where these two elements are brought together, neither of which can be allowed to contradict the other. As National Assembly membership grows, it becomes more closely tied to the basic level, to production, to the practical activities being carried out in each field. Regardless of the requirement faced, the National Assembly deputy must truly represent the

masses and have their trust. There have been strangers to the electorate. The electorate voted for these deputies because they had general confidence in the policies of the party, not because they had specific confidence in the person who would represent them. These masses have not worked with their deputies in the movement, do not know anything about their deputies and, in some cases, do not know their deputy's name or know their deputy by sight.

In its activities, the National Assembly must keep abreast of developments in the country's situation, receive a full and timely supply of information and news and have a thorough understanding of the views, positions and policies of the party so that it can deal with issues from an overall, not a limited, perspective. National Assembly deputies are elected by many different localities and must, of course, keep abreast of the situation in the locality they represent and reflect the issues of their locality. However, when expressing attitudes as the body that represents the entire country, the voice of the National Assembly must speak for the interests of the entire country. In their activities, each deputy must guarantee freedom of expression and this freedom includes the expression of one's views through the ballot--or through a public vote. While we are concerned with unanimity and consensus, we view it as normal if certain disagreements arise between the National Assembly and management agencies. It is also normal for the National Assembly to reject a decision by an executive agency censure or remove from office one or many members of an executive agency and demand that an executive agency report--not explain--on matters of interest to the National Assembly.

Strengthening the role played by the National Assembly in the country's political life is work of vital importance in the process of strengthening the socialist system of democracy. It fully reflects the superiority of socialist democracy over each democratic system that preceded it--superiority not only in terms of what it stands for, but also what it practices.

This is the foremost task of the National Assembly as we commemorate the anniversary of the day that our country laid the foundation of our democratic system 40 years ago.

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## CONCERNING THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 25-33

[Unattributed review of Le Duán's book "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Volume IV," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984]

[Text] The late 1970's and early 1980's were an intense and complex period in the development of the Vietnamese revolution. Our people fought and won brilliant victories over two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and staunchly defended the independence of the fatherland. At the same time, they helped the fraternal people of Cambodia arise in struggle to bring down the Pol Pot genocidal regime and establish the People's Democratic Republic. We strengthened the fighting alliance among and created a new, solid strategic position for the revolutions of the three countries on the Indochina peninsula. We also joined CEMA and expanded and strengthened our cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries in every field. The general line and the line on economic construction were further concretized at the party's 5th Congress. Significant achievements were recorded in socialist construction within our country. We gradually overcame some large difficulties, developed a number of new approaches to socio-economic management and adopted policies consistent with the characteristics of the initial stage of the period of transition in our country. As a result, we succeeded in bringing about very encouraging initial changes on the economic front, especially in agriculture. Efforts to build the new culture and mold the new man were also carried out nationwide. In the fight to defend the fatherland as well as in the work of building the new life, many collectives and individuals emerged who typify the style and ethics of the new, socialist man.

These achievements "have given the Vietnamese revolution a new and more solid posture and created larger capabilities for defending the fatherland and successfully building socialism"(\*) (p 20).

However, the period from 1978 to 1983 was also a period during which the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country were very sharp, complex and bitter. The major imbalances within the economy persisted. In society, negative phenomena arose. Shortcomings and weaknesses were seen in economic management and the management of society. In a number of fields, the position of socialism was

encroached upon by capitalist and non-socialist factors. On the other hand, the dangerous and immediate enemy of our country's revolution, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, have been and are continuing to wage a cunning, wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia.

Set against this historical background, the book "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Volume IV," which consists of selected speeches and articles delivered and written by General Secretary Le Duan between August 1978 and December 1983, shows us his concern for evaluating the state of the economy and society within our country, the shortcomings and difficulties that still exist and the objective and subjective causes of our victories and difficulties. The book outlines the strategic tasks of our country's revolution in the new situation. It sets forth major positions and measures designed to develop the existing strengths and potentials of the country in order to bring the economy through the difficulties and imbalances currently being experienced and gradually achieve solid economic growth while strengthening the national defense system and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In the articles entitled "The Heroic and Ever Victorious Vietnam People's Armed Forces," "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party," "Everything for the Socialist Fatherland, for the Happiness of the People" and "Gaining a More Thorough Understanding of the Party's Line in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition," especially in the "Political Report at the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party," Le Duan points out: "At present, the Chinese reactionaries, with the consent and support of the United States, are waging a war of sabotage against Vietnam in the military, political, economic, cultural and social fields by many different forces and many very cunning tactics"(p 29). Our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with this wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy. Therefore, "all our people and armed forces must, under the leadership of the party, unite as one and make every effort to perform two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and, secondly, maintaining combat readiness and staunchly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland"(p 30). This "is the noble and sacred mission that the history of the nation requires all present and future generations of Vietnamese to undertake"(p 31).

These two strategic tasks are closely interrelated and are considered a law of the Vietnamese revolution. "The task of maintaining our readiness to fight to defend the fatherland together with the international obligation that we are fulfilling for the two countries of Laos and Cambodia face our country with very large difficulties. A very important portion of our manpower and material wealth has been absorbed in national defense, thus making the imbalances within the economy increasingly acute. Despite this, we cannot relax our efforts in the task of strengthening the national defense system and maintaining combat readiness because this task is a matter of survival to the entire nation"(p 441). The several thousand year history of the existence and development of our nation has always been the result of the movement of the

law that building the country be closely tied to defending the country. Today, this law is having a strong impact upon the life of our people. This important line of thinking is reconfirmed by Le Duan in many of his works.

After pointing out that we cannot relax our efforts to strengthen the national defense system and defend the fatherland for one minute, Le Duan emphasizes: "Our party and people must make socialist construction their task of foremost importance. This is not only because socialism is the goal of our entire cause, but also because socialism and the strength and stability of the socialist system guarantee the independence and freedom of the fatherland"(p 35).

Analyzing the substance of our party's line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy, Le Duan points out that these lines comprise a single and complete entity, an entity within which there is close coordination, mutual stimulation and the permeation of each by the other between goals and the means and measures for achieving these goals, between production forces and production relations, between the economic base and the superstructure, between the economy and national defense, between transformation and construction, between subjective dynamism and objective conditions, between cause and effect, etc. The combined strength of our country's revolution is created through the coordination of these factors and the impact that they have upon one another. The general line of the party and its line on building the economy "represent the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country and reflect Lenin's argument concerning the possibility of advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development"(p 37). However, to turn these lines into living reality, they must be concretized in the form of socio-economic development strategies and major positions, policies and measures that apply to the entire country as well as specific positions, policies and measures for each sector, each area and each stage of development in the period of transition.

Through incisive arguments presented in the "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party," "Gaining a Clearer Understanding of the Party's Line in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition" and "The Political Report at the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party," Le Duan points out: "Firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, building the system of collective ownership of the laboring people and carrying out socialist industrialization"(p 37) are the essential elements of the party's line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the economy.

Firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat means adhering to the party's line, strengthening the leadership of the working class, implementing and developing upon the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, building a solid and strong state and bringing all strata of the broad masses together around the working class for the following purposes: carrying out the three revolutions; abolishing the exploitation of man by man and abolishing poverty and backwardness; successfully building socialism; strengthening and building national defense forces; maintaining political security and social order; crushing all resistance and each act of aggression of the enemy; strengthening and developing our cooperation and mutual

assistance with the fraternal socialist countries; and actively joining the people of the world in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat does not mark the end of the class struggle, but represents the continuation of the class struggle under new conditions, under new forms and by new measures. It entails taking and combining administrative, economic, educational, persuasive, organizational and managerial measures to protect each gain made by the revolution and successfully build socialism. In the past, due to our failure to fully comprehend this thinking, we have committed shortcomings at many times and places. For example, we have relaxed our efforts in the struggle between the two paths in economic management, in distribution and circulation, in ideological and cultural work and in the maintenance of order and security. We have failed to resolutely enforce the socialist system of law in order to maintain social discipline. We have somewhat neglected and been slow in carrying out socialist transformation in the South and in strengthening and improving the new, socialist production relations in the North. As a result of these shortcomings, negative phenomena have been allowed to grow and persist, have been corrected slowly and bourgeois elements have even been allowed to re-establish themselves, develop and encroach upon the position of socialism.

With regard to the line on the socialist revolution, Le Duan places special emphasis upon building the system of socialist collective ownership and carrying out socialist industrialization. He explains the close relationship that exists between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the right of collective ownership of the laboring people. He writes: "In the period of transition, the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers, is implemented through the state under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat"(pp 460-461).

To build the system of socialist collective ownership, it is first of all necessary to establish and continuously develop the right of the laboring people to be the collective masters in the field of politics. However, as Le Duan frequently observes, the system of socialist collective ownership is not only a political system, but also a system of new, socialist social relations that encompass politics, the economy, the culture and society and reflect, in a comprehensive and consistent way, the role of the laboring people as the genuine collective masters in our country. It is this system of relations that determines the character, characteristics and substance of the new society and makes socialism qualitatively different from every social system that preceded it.

This system of collective ownership is both the goal of and the fundamental force behind the socialist revolution in our country. It is implemented and develops through the mechanism: "The party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages." This is consistent with the objective laws of development of socialist society, with the special characteristics of our country. This mechanism upholds the right of collective ownership of the laboring people while creating the important conditions needed to continually



enhance the laboring people's sense of ownership and their ability to exercise this ownership.

Le Duan points out the basic elements involved in building the system of socialist collective ownership. They are: the rights and obligations of each organization and each individual within the social community as defined and guaranteed by the Constitution, the laws of the state, the statutes, internal regulations and rules of the mass organizations and so forth; the strength of collective ownership exercised by the laboring people, as expressed in combining and vigorously upholding the right of collective ownership on all three levels: the national, local and basic levels; the achievement and maintenance of unity among the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual and between the balanced, harmonious development of all society and the comprehensive development of each individual; attaching foremost importance to tapping the strength of the community and clearly showing how the strength of the community is superior in conjunction with strongly encouraging individual initiative and the creative dynamism of the individual; establishing correct and close ties among the individual, the family and society, which is a necessary prerequisite to the life of each person and the life of society; maintaining and making full use of every possible condition and capability in order to meet the rising material and cultural needs of all laborers better, etc.

Le Duan maintains that the formation and development of the system of socialist collective ownership must proceed from a low to a high level, from the incomplete to the complete. Even in the initial stage of the period of transition, we absolutely can and must build and constantly develop upon the impact of the system of socialist collective ownership. This process is closely tied to the process of building the system of large-scale, socialist production, building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man. The system of socialist collective ownership is the combined product of the three revolutions, of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, of the process of profound and thorough revolutionary change in all fields of social life. In every stage of the period of transition, building and developing the system of socialist collective ownership entail specific requirements and steps consistent with the conditions and level of political, economic, cultural and social development of the country during that stage. It is incorrect to deny the objective need to establish the system of socialist collective ownership in the current stage and equally incorrect to want to build the complete system of socialist collective ownership at the very outset.

While attaching importance to building and developing all the different aspects of social life, Le Duan gives special attention to the most basic task of the socialist revolution in our country, namely, building the system of large-scale, socialist production. Because, in the final analysis, the economic factor always plays the decisive role and controls all aspects of social life.

Achieving large-scale, socialist production in our country requires that we carry out socialist industrialization. Le Duan writes: "Socialist industrialization, the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, has the aim of creating a modern industrial-agricultural economic

structure, one that consists of a heavy machine industry capable of equipping the entire national economy with new technology and a modern system of large-scale, socialist agricultural production. These are the material-technical bases that we must have in order to truly build socialism, that we must have to strengthen the national defense system and firmly defend our fatherland. This is also precisely what we lack the most. This lack imposes a heavy burden every day in the economic activities and life of our people"(p 463). Although we continue to encounter many difficulties with the economy and living conditions, we cannot give light attention to the need for socialist industrialization for one moment. Because, this is the only path by which we can overcome our difficulties and shortages in a way that is both fundamental and stable.

However, in carrying out socialist industrialization in our country, where must we begin and into which stages must socialist industrialization be divided? In the current initial stage, what is the main theme of socialist industrialization? This is a socio-economic problem facing our party and people. Le Duan points out that, under the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and the plans for the 1980's, socialist industrialization in our country primarily involves: "Focusing efforts on strongly developing agriculture, considering it to be the front of foremost importance, and advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production; making every effort to increase the production of consumer goods and continue to build a number of important heavy industrial sectors; and combining agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industry within a rational industrial-agricultural structure"(p 52).

Thus, the themes of socialist industrialization in the present stage are, first, to establish the correct relationship between industry and agriculture, correctly define the position of agriculture within this relationship and combine industry with agriculture within a rational structure. These are matters of decisive significance with regard to the scale, structure, rate and effectiveness of the process of building the material-technical bases of socialism and also provide the basis for setting investment guidelines, making efficient use of investment capital, organizing and distributing labor and organizing the process of social production and reproduction.

Secondly, we must properly combine central economic construction with local economic development and establish the exercise of ownership by all three levels. Positive steps must be taken to build the district agro-industrial economic structure in order to make good use of our most precious assets, our labor, arable land (including the forests and offshore waters) and the sectors and trades, apply scientific and technical advances and make good use of existing material-technical bases and the existing corps of scientific and technical cadres. Only by combining our labor and arable land well can we gradually advance agriculture to large-scale production and put in place an important element of industrialization in the present stage. At the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, Le Duan explained: "In the current stage, in which agriculture is the front of foremost importance, we must move forward by making full use of our labor and arable land and by opening sectors and trades. At this point in time, we cannot allow land to lie fallow, allow laborers to lack work. Each basic unit and locality must take an inventory of

what they have and adopt a specific plan for fully developing the potentials that lie in labor and arable land and producing much wealth. On a nationwide basis, it is necessary to conduct planning, adopt specific plans and policies, redistribute labor, gradually make full use of our 25 million laborers and effectively develop our 10 million hectares of agricultural land and 15 million hectares of forest land. This is the number one strategic issue we face"(p 557).

Thirdly, we must increase production in the consumer goods industry and continue to build a number of important heavy industrial sectors, primarily with the aim of supplying means of production to agriculture, consumer goods to the people and products for exportation. We are currently encountering many objective difficulties with raw materials and energy in the production of consumer goods. However, it is precisely within this field that many potentials lie in labor, equipment and machine capacity and domestic raw materials. If every sector, locality and basic unit develops specific solutions that enable it to overcome its difficulties, utilize additional labor and machine capacity and raise product quality, we can make more progress. According to Le Duan, to not consider agriculture to be the front of foremost importance at this time is a mistake and reflects a lack of understanding of our country's socio-economic situation and a lack of knowledge about how to develop the inherent strengths of the country in order to move forward. However, it is also a major mistake and a utopian approach to give light attention to the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, namely, industrialization, the basic elements of which are to combine agriculture with industry at the very outset and give rational priority to the development of heavy industry. Because--as Le Duan stresses--"We can never forget that the material-technical base of socialism can only be a system of heavy, mechanized industry that is capable of transforming the whole of agriculture and equipping the entire national economy with new technology"(p 51).

Fourthly, we must expand our overseas economic relations and increase both our exports and imports. Le Duan states: "Expanding our international cooperation is a factor in the nature of a law"(p 474), "is a integral part of our economic strategy"(p 261), the aims of which are to maintain and develop domestic production and break the enemy's encirclement of our country's economy. Increasing our exports and imports is a task of both basic and pressing importance in resolving the difficulties now being encountered with energy, raw materials and supplies for production and in importing technology for socialist industrialization.

Fifthly, we must re-establish the new, socialist order on the distribution and circulation front. On the basis of the actual situation that exists today, namely, that the distribution and circulation front is where we find many of our most pressing and critical problems, where we find many of our most serious difficulties and negative phenomena and where the struggle between the two paths of socialism and capitalism is extremely sharp, Le Duan states that we must re-establish the new, socialist order on the distribution-circulation front, must control the distribution-circulation front. Most importantly, the state must control the flow of goods and money and be the master of the market. We must bring distribution and circulation within the sphere of

socialism so that it is socialist in character and consistent with the characteristics of the present stage.

In many of his works, Le Duan analyzes the close, organic relationship between building the new system, the new economy and establishing the new culture and molding the new, socialist man. The new system and new economy have a decisive influence upon the formation and development of the new culture and new man. Conversely, victories in the efforts to establish the new culture and mold the new man will become a major force stimulating the building of the new system and the new economy.

The building of the new culture and the molding of the new, socialist man must be based on the requirements of the revolution and our times while incorporating and developing upon the very best attributes of Vietnamese culture in our history of more than 4,000 years. This is the only way that we can elevate this cause to the level of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage. The distinguishing characteristics of the Vietnamese people are ardent patriotism and the sense of community, democracy and equality in interpersonal relations. The community exists so that we can work and live, can build and defend the country. It is from the existence of a community that love for one another emerges, love for one another within the village and throughout the country. "Love of country-love of family, love of others-love of oneself"(p 83), the country and the family are one. The fatherland and we are one. When Marxism-Leninism and communism arrived in Vietnam, when the Communist Party of Vietnam began taking the lead and the spirit of patriotism and sense of national community of Vietnam and the spirit of communist awareness came together, Vietnam's tradition of patriotism and community were abruptly reawakened, creating an invincible strength. Le Duan stresses: "At present, our country is building the system of socialist collective ownership of the laboring people. This system is in the nature of a law of our times and carries on and enhances the several thousand year patriotic and democratic traditions of the nation of Vietnam"(p 83). Building the new culture and molding the new man must and can be achieved gradually, be achieved one step at a time, beginning today. In the present stage, objective and subjective conditions permit us to begin to create a society that is beautiful from the standpoint of its way of life, from the standpoint of interpersonal relations, a society in which the laboring people feel that they are living a happy life, even though their material life is not yet highly developed"(p 82).

In his speeches and articles, Le Duan always addresses one matter of decisive significance, that of improving the ability of our party and state to organize and manage: "We have frequently stressed that once the line has been adopted, the management and organization of its implementation play an exceedingly important role and decide the fate of the line"(p 480).

Le Duan stresses that through its efforts to organize the implementation of its line, our party must correct mistakes in its line, must concretize and further refine its line, especially in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, when life raises, with each step that we take, countless specific and brand new problems that must be resolved.

The important and pressing issue today is the need to correctly implement the fundamental principles of the new, socialist economic management system. These fundamental principles are: making the plan the center of operations, closely tying the plan, economic accounting and socialist business practices together and paying close attention to use value while attaching importance to value and correctly applying the law of value. They are: giving basic units financial independence and allowing the localities, sectors and basic units to take greater initiative while insuring that the central level provides unified management of the entire national economy. They are: establishing the exercise of ownership on all three fundamental levels, the central level, the local level and the basic level; combining the three interests in a way that is correct and balanced; always guaranteeing that the highest interests, the interests of society, are satisfied; giving proper attention to the interests of the collective; and providing the individual laborer with appropriate incentive. They are: attaching importance to and tapping the dynamism, creativity and revolutionary zeal of the laborer; utilizing the large strengths of advanced science and technology; and closely combining the three different types of measures: economic, educational and administrative. They are: simultaneously emphasizing discipline and giving greater responsibility and authority to all sectors, localities and basic units.

In the present stage of the revolution, solidarity with the proletariat and people of the entire world, especially solidarity and cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, and the special friendly relations and militant alliance with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia are a "guarantee of victory in our people's work of defending the fatherland and building socialism"(p 403). Le Duan states: strengthening our friendship and expanding our cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism are the matter of foremost importance in the foreign policy of our party and state. Uniting and cooperating in every field with the Soviet Union are always the bedrock of the foreign policy of our party and state. "The special relations among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are a law in the development of the revolutions of our three countries, are a matter of survival in the destinies of our three nations"(p 136). At the same time, "it is our policy to establish and expand normal state, economic, cultural, scientific and technical relations with all countries regardless of their political and social systems on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit"(p 144).

The matters of increasing the fighting strength and improving the leadership ability of the party occupy an especially important position within this collection of works. Le Duan points out: the party being in power means that the party has assumed responsibility to history for the destiny of the country, the happiness of the people and the continuous development of all society. This responsibility demands that the party increase its fighting strength and improve its ability to provide leadership in every field, especially on the economic front. "The entire party must become deeply involved in the economy, improve its style of economic leadership, improve its ability to provide economic leadership and increase the effectiveness of this leadership"(p 148).

According to Le Duan, the key task in the building of the party today is "to continue to strengthen the working class, vanguard character of the party and make the party solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally with the aims of insuring the successful implementation of the lines of the party, improving the ability of the party to lead socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland and insuring that our party always retains its revolutionary and scientific character and is a party that is truly pure, possesses high fighting strength and has close ties to the masses"(p 147).

Le Duan asserts that, at this point in time, the qualities and skills of the cadre and party member are to be expressed in a revolutionary-offensive spirit, in taking the lead and setting good examples, in firm confidence in the victory of the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland; in knowing one's job and always completing the assigned task; in maintaining a resolute stand in the struggle between the two paths; in the spirit of vigilance and the will to fight against the schemes and acts of sabotage, encroachment, occupation and aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against our country; in a spirit of responsibility and sense of organization and discipline; and in the simple, wholesome and pure way of life of the communist.

Le Duan maintains that we must be determined to expel from the organization of the party all opportunist elements, all persons whose revolutionary will is paralyzed, all exploiters and embezzlers, all persons who intimidate the masses and everyone who lives a life of extravagance and decadence. At the same time, the party must draw into its ranks outstanding persons who are conscious of the ideals of communism, possess revolutionary qualities, possess the necessary knowledge of science, technology, economic management and social management and have been challenged and forged in the realities of revolutionary struggle.

According to Le Duan, in view of the fact that it is in power, the party must also attach full importance to creating, on a nationwide scale as well as within each sector, locality and basic unit, a system of correct relations among the party, which leads, the people, who exercise ownership, and the state, which manages. Such a system of correct relations is one that provides the strongest possible guarantee of comprehensive and absolute leadership by the party of all aspects of social life and the development of society; makes the state as capable and effective as possible in its role of managing the economy and culture; and absolutely guarantees that the laboring people are the true masters and make history with the greatest possible results.

General Secretary Le Duan's book "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Volume IV" profoundly summarizes our country's situation in a very important and complex stage of history. It provides us with theoretical bases and Marxist-Leninist methodology for analyzing and evaluating the socio-economic situation and outlines revolutionary and scientific solutions to the problems being faced. The book not only presents and solves the most important and pressing problems of the Vietnamese revolution in the present stage, but also sheds light on the most basic and essential issues in the entire cause of socialist construction within our country. Studying this important work will give us a

fuller, more comprehensive and more accurate understanding of the thinking, views and lines of the party so that we can organize their implementation in a vigorous and effective way with a view toward turning the ideals of socialism into living reality within our beloved country.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* Passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers are excerpts from Le Duan's work: "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Volume IV," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984.

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## THE ECONOMIC FACTOR IN CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 34-40

[Article by Tran Do]

[Text] I. The Relationship Between Culture and the Economy

In recent years, as a result of practical requirements, economic considerations in cultural activities have become a matter of pressing importance, especially since the adoption of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

To clearly answer the economic questions that exist concerning cultural activities, there must be unanimity concerning the relationship between the economy and culture, unanimity based on a correct and full concept of culture.

Culture is the embodiment of the material and spiritual values that man has created, accumulated and handed down from one generation to another in the course of the development of mankind. The activities of man that create these cultural values are also a cultural phenomenon. And man, who carries out each cultural activity, is also a product of culture, is the object toward which each cultural activity must be oriented.

Thus, the essence of culture is man, is the progress and improvement of man. To lack culture is to lack that which makes man human. More broadly and correctly stated, man must be the object of support, be the object toward which each social activity, including economic activities, not just cultural activities, be directed.

Cultural development is determined by the material conditions of social life. As a result, the production of material wealth is a very important field within each society. However, abundant material wealth alone is not enough to achieve the happiness of man within an ideal society.

If we do not create the need for a noble spiritual life, if life and labor are not illuminated by lofty ideals, there is the possibility that some persons will limit themselves to the narrow world of selfish concerns at a time when the material standard of living is constantly rising. When this occurs, material conveniences can have the opposite effect. Once the base of



spiritual development, they become a force that distorts human nature and separates man from the true values of life.

The Communist Party of Vietnam has adopted the line of "simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions" for the purpose of achieving the goals of socialism: large-scale, socialist production, the system of socialist collective ownership, the new culture and the new, socialist man. It has defined the central task in the ideological and cultural revolution as molding the new, socialist man and has adopted the strategic slogan: for the sake of the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people. Thus, the view of our party concerning culture also is: culture is man, culture is for man, for the happiness and development of each person. Thus, culture is not merely something that is dependent upon the economy, that follows the economy and is only a passive result of economic development. Culture is not something that merely adorns life, something which it makes no difference whether we have or do not have.

In practice, there are many cultural activities that have the purpose of directly inspiring efforts to achieve economic targets. As a result, some persons only see this aspect of culture and only see culture as a means, a tool in economic activities and political activities. In fact, however, culture plays its own effective and important role in economic development and social progress. Culture builds and strengthens man. It increases each person's knowledge, skill, physical conditioning, zeal and dexterity in labor and improves everyone's ability to exercise socialist collective ownership. It is the moving force behind higher labor productivity, the development of production and social development. Because culture supports the molding of persons who are fully developed and well balanced in order to create a community of new, socialist persons, create a highly cultured society and create a happy and wholesome life for the people, culture is also an objective of the socialist revolution. Therefore, we often repeat a very dialectical and profound statement made by General Secretary Le Duan: culture is the means of the socialist revolution, is the moving force behind the socialist revolution, is the objective of the socialist revolution.

Culture, when the concept of culture is this broad, is present in every aspect of social life. Cultural activities support economic tasks. Economic activities must include culture, must help to build the culture (in other words, must support the culture). Thus, the relationship between culture and the economy is a positive dialectical relationship, a relationship that has one common purpose: to mold man, to serve the happiness of man. An economy that has socialist goals must also include culture, must create the conditions for cultural development. But it is not just economic strength that creates culture. Culture has a strength of its own, a strength that stimulates economic development and combines with economic strength to create the strength of the life of a society, a nation.

## II. Economic Questions in Cultural Activities

Each cultural-art activity is economic in some sense and raises economic questions that must be taken into consideration and resolved, because, each cultural-art activity requires a certain material-technical base, requires

participants, be it few or many. As Lenin said: "To us, this cultural revolution poses unimaginable difficulties from a purely cultural perspective (we are illiterate) as well as from a material perspective (because, to become cultured persons, the material means needed for production must reach a certain level of development, that is, we must have a certain material base)."(1)

This economic significance grows and the economic questions faced become more complex when cultural-art activities involve the use of powerful and modern technical means and are directed toward a public consisting of millions of persons.

Today, with cultural activities becoming increasingly large in scale, with large amounts of materials and technology, large investments and large expenditures and revenues being a significant part of cultural activities and with the economic aspect of cultural activities appearing to rise in importance, there are some among us who think that "we have a culture economy." Before going any further, it must be said that this thinking is incorrect. Such an assertion means that the issue is not culture with its own tasks and objectives, but that cultural activities are nothing more than economic activities, that culture, like the agricultural economy and the handicraft economy, is an economic sector, too, and that culture only has an economic task. This is a mistake that cannot be tolerated. When this thinking is adopted, each cultural activity, each activity in the field of art must have the purpose of producing a profit and every possible step must be taken to earn a profit, the larger the profit, the better, the larger the profit, the better the task is completed(?). Having adopted this thinking, many localities attach foremost importance to economic objectives when constructing cultural projects and select those projects that enable them to quickly reclaim their capital and earn a profit, instead of taking into consideration the political task of cultural facilities, namely, enhancing the cultural life of the people. Some localities have issued formal decisions under which a budget revenue quota is assigned to a cultural facility (cultural center) as one of its main tasks. And, also as a result of the influence of this thinking, authorized agencies have at times assigned financial revenue and expenditure norms to art units in the same way that they assign norms to a business unit. This has led to a situation in which some theater directors and heads of art troupes set but one requirement for their units when selecting which items their units will perform: "Draw customers" and sell a lot of tickets. They do not take ideological or artistic requirements into consideration at all. This is why we once had to sound the alarm, had to criticize and put an end to the phenomena called "commercial art." Actually, there are many aspects of "commercial art" that need be analyzed. Here, they have only touched upon the "economic" aspect.

Another type of radical thinking is the thinking that there is no economic factor in cultural activities. Culture is culture. Neither business nor profit and loss have anything to do with any cultural or art activity. In cultural activities, only political and ideological requirements are important and the only "profit" from cultural activities is "political and ideological profit." This thinking, which generally leads to the approach that we must conduct cultural activities, must successfully create a cultural event as

required by political needs and do so at any price, can be called the "at any price" tendency in cultural activities.

This tendency leads to bureaucratic centralism, sweeping state subsidies and frightful waste in cultural activities or to the inability to conduct any type of cultural activity due to the lack of the necessary material base and funding. Here, there is no need to take money into consideration, only wait for allotments. Therefore, this tendency, too, fails to reflect appropriate concern for the public. We maintain that cultural and art activities on the central as well as the local levels must be planned, must be carried out in accordance with a clear order of priorities and must be fully discussed by leadership circles and writers, artists and cultural activists themselves, with attention to scientific considerations, including economic considerations.

The aboveanalysis leads us to assert that there are economic matters to be considered in cultural activities. We say this because there are many types of economic matters that arise in cultural activities on all different cultural levels. These economic matters are dealt with in a different way for each form of cultural activity and on each different level.

The economic problems encountered in cultural activities should be resolved by creating and developing sources of capital to provide material-technical bases and funding for these activities, not by turning cultural activities into profit making businesses. Current cultural activities require increasingly large and highly developed material-technical bases. Therefore, every cultural activity must achieve two types of efficiency: social efficiency and economic efficiency. Social efficiency is the efficiency with which these activities have an impact upon the thinking, feelings and spiritual life of the people. Economic efficiency is the efficiency with which we use material-technical bases and funding and the efficiency with which we develop material-technical bases on our own in order to constantly increase the social efficiency of cultural activities. The economic norms that are achieved by cultural units are quantitative expressions of the social efficiency achieved by these units. These norms are not an end in themselves and cannot be the sole or primary norm used to evaluate the activities of these units.

### III. The Substance of the Economic Problems Encountered in Cultural-Art Activities

Each cultural activity, be it professional or amateur, and even small-scale, local activities, requires supplies, technology and the participation of a few or many persons. Each cultural activity requires funding, and the amount of this funding must be determined with a view toward efficiency. The larger this funding is, the more it is necessary to make specific, accurate economic calculations supported by scientific argumentation. It was not by accident that specialized economic cadres who have received formal training overseas began appearing in all large cultural sectors, such as the cinematography sector, at an early date. Clearly, we must delve deeply into studying the economic aspects of culture and art.

Giving full attention to the economic aspects of cultural and art activities means that we must:

- a) Utilize each means, each existing material-technical base in the most economical and rational manner possible;
- b) Collect all revenues that can be collected and not incur losses;
- c) Make only those expenditures that are necessary and do so in the spirit of frugality; frugality must be thoroughly practiced by each sector and cadre as a national policy;
- d) Clearly establish, in a scientifically based manner, which basic units must earn a profit from their activities, which must be partially or fully subsidized by the state, which must be allotted a certain amount of initial capital by the state and thereafter conduct their activities on the basis of economic accounting, etc.

In the recent past, the publication of many good books on literature, the publication of beautiful calendars and the production of several successful plays, such as "In the Name of Justice," "I and We...", have shown us that artistic works and literary products of high quality are capable of producing large economic returns. And, economic returns are proof of the level of social returns. We must insure that the development of these two types of returns is directly proportional: a good supply of capital creating the conditions for the production of good products, good products that meet the needs and satisfy the tastes of the people, thereby generating large revenues. We should not allow the development of these two types of returns to be inversely proportional, with larger losses being incurred with works that are better and products that are more expensive, with larger revenues being generated by cheap products, by products that are unfinished and decadent in many ways.

Of course, we cannot adopt as a general guideline the requirement that each cultural-art activity, each cultural-art unit and facility produce a profit or generate sufficient revenues to cover costs. Such a decision would also be bureaucratic and impractical. We cannot shift from the extreme that is bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies to the other extreme of giving light attention to and even ignoring the highest purpose of socialist culture, literature and art, that is, to provide to man noble spiritual and aesthetic values, values that go beyond all monetary considerations, with the aim of helping the new, socialist man develop in a comprehensive, harmonious and balanced manner. The economic policy regarding the various types of cultural, literary and art activities and units must be a discriminating policy.

The specifics involved in the economic aspects of a cultural unit or a form of cultural activity compel us to address the following in our thinking and calculations.

- a) Resolving the problems regarding materials, technology and funding for activities, which includes the following:

--The capital needed to establish initial bases;

--The capital needed for maintenance, repair and development;

--Initial funding and the funding for regular activities in accordance with the plan or emergency, unscheduled activities.

b) Discovering and creating revenue producing activities to meet the demand for capital, the funding of activities and the funding of policies and making full use of specialized activities so that we can increase the sources of revenue and the amounts of revenue generated.

c) In the formation of capital and in the area of expenditures and revenues, methods and limits must be considered and calculated in order to develop those that are most rational, those that help to develop the social function of cultural activities and do not allow the nature of these activities to change.

d) It is necessary to adopt a social policy concerning culture and art similar to the social policies that have been adopted in education (on textbooks), in public health (on medicine), etc. This social policy must take two forms:

--Subsidies (not sweeping compensation for losses) for cultural and art activities that do not generate sufficient revenues to cover expenditures.

--Ordering: the services of units that conduct cultural and art activities must be ordered so that they have the basis needed to practice economic accounting.

#### IV. Classifying Cultural Activities from an Economic Perspective

Properly classifying cultural activities from an economic perspective is the necessary premise and prerequisite to establishing a clearly defined direction and method of operation for each basic unit and each type cultural activity, to avoiding incorrect subsidization and compensation for losses and to encouraging the initiative and creativity of basic units and the display of initiative and creativity in every type of cultural activity.

1. The basic units that produce cultural materials, such as film, musical instruments, amplifiers, makeup and so forth, that is, the materials and supplies that directly support performances and the creation of cultural, literary and art works: the operations of these units must be true business operations.

2. The basic units that produce cultural and art products, such as printing enterprises, publishing houses, enterprises producing tapes and records, movie film enterprises and so forth: these units must practice full-scale economic accounting and calculate profit and loss in their operations. However, they cannot apply the same financial practices as the production and business units of the economic sectors do.

3. The basic units that perform and create art, which include theaters and theatrical art troupes, song and dance troupes, orchestras, circus and variety show troupes: their product is creativity; at the same time, they are also service units.

Some units create or perform types of art that are very much appreciated by the public, types that generate large revenues from ticket sales, such as the circus, modern theater, variety shows and light music. The development of some of these types is encouraged under state policy while other types are not encouraged (although not banned). A specific financial policy must be adopted concerning these units in order to encourage or discourage their development.

Some types of units are involved in sophisticated forms of art which are very costly and difficult to create, produce and train performers for and with which the public is either not familiar or does not like (such as European opera, ballet, symphony performances, classical opera, popular opera and so forth). There are some of these types of art that we need to have in order to enrich the country's art and, on the other hand, prepare for higher stages in the development of art in the future. The state should adopt an appropriate financial policy concerning these types.

There are some types which, although also necessary, entail very high economic and technical requirements that the general state of the country's economy does not permit us to meet. We should, therefore, carefully consider whether or not to establish units in these fields of art. We definitely must not allow a situation to occur in which a unit is "born but orphaned."

4. The units that provide preservation and museum services and units that have the function of disseminating and popularizing culture, such as the museums, exhibit halls, tradition halls, libraries and so forth: these units can, depending upon the situation, collect certain fees in order to contribute to the general cultural budget of the central level or locality and, on the other hand, generate funds for their activities.

The cultural centers on the various levels perform many different functions, primary among which are the functions of creating, disseminating and preserving culture and providing training. At the same time, they usually play the role as the cultural catalyst of the locality and area. Because they have so many different functions, the cultural centers must be governed by a separate financial policy, one determined by the various levels of local administration and based on the specific situation.

5. Units that are commerce or service businesses, such as book and cultural product stores, fine art and art stores, photography studios, cultural equipment repair shops and so forth: these units operate in the commerce and service modes, that is, they are in business to earn a profit or earn their wage by working for hire. A store can do business in only one product or in many products that are similar in nature. A service unit can provide only one service or many associated services. These units must have regular income and profits but must attach importance to their function of disseminating culture and the products in which they do business must be wholesome and progressive.

6. The research and training organizations, schools and research institutes in the fields of culture and art: the culture and art schools of all types and on all levels are places that train gifted artists and writers and talented, well educated cultural activists and managers. The cultural research institutes on the various levels are places that conduct scientific research projects into topics which, if dealt with appropriately and well, have the effect of accelerating the development of the entire cultural, literary and art sector, in general, or the development of a specific sector or locality.

These units have traditionally received a standard amount of funding. This funding, however, is usually very limited. Meanwhile, the minds and labor of the persons at these units have not been tapped much. Here, economic activities can be introduced with the aim of further raising the specialized standards and capabilities of these units and improving their financial position.

Because cultural activities within socialist society have special, unique characteristics, the economic aspects of socialist culture must be dealt with in accordance with specific principles:

1. State agencies must assume the major portion of the responsibility for investing in and sponsoring creative cultural activities, must be the most generous sponsor of these activities. The state can mobilize the people to participate and contribute via a specific mechanism but must not make it necessary for cultural units to manage on their own and be self-sufficient in their activities.

2. All cultural units are responsible for the returns they produce, both "social returns" and "economic returns." They must attach foremost importance to "social returns" and not conduct their activities with the sole aim of "earning a profit, the larger the better." However, they also should not overlook any possibilities to earn revenue nor should they operate "at any price."

3. A different type of economic activity exists for each type of cultural activity.

The state must establish systematic financial policies that are consistent with the different forms of economic activity that apply to the various types of cultural activities in order to uphold both principle number one and principle number two. The financial policies that are applied to the production and business units of the economic sector cannot be applied to cultural units.

4. The principle "the state and the people working together" must be thoroughly applied, with the people contributing materials, labor, money, purchasing power, intelligence and their ability to create and conduct activities. These contributions must be calculated and codified in a manner consistent with the capabilities of the people and a manner that has their support.

The economic aspects of culture are an entirely new issue to us, one that entails many factors that are difficult to calculate and many intricate relationships. We have presented the above thoughts in the hope that there will be continued, deeper and more thorough study of this matter.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 429.

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## CULTIVATING A REVOLUTIONARY AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF THINKING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 41-46

[Article by Hoang Chinh]

[Text] The realities of yesterday's war of liberation and today's war to defend the fatherland together with the realities of the socialist revolution in our country have been and are having a strong impact upon the style and way of thinking of our people, of each one of us. In stimulating the continuous development of the revolution, one very important and pressing requirement we face is the need for each of us to cultivate a revolutionary and scientific method of thinking.

This method of thinking is exceedingly necessary and plays a major role in helping us to see things correctly and take actions that are correct. It is even more necessary when we want to see things correctly and act correctly in the face of complex changes occurring in life, when we want to find ways to overcome towering difficulties and move ahead. A scientific method of thinking provides man with the ability to be creative and dynamic in the way that he sees things and acts but still do so in a manner that is consistent with the objective requirements of life, of social development.

Thinking, or cognition, in general, is the reflection of objective reality within the mind and forms the ideological consciousness of each person. The ideology of each person depends upon many factors. To a large degree, however, it is dependent upon each person's level of thinking. Each person, depending upon his level of thinking, perceives a practical problem differently. Each person's level of thinking is dependent upon the knowledge and practical experience he has gained and, to an important degree, upon his method of thinking.

In the history of the development of mankind's thinking, metaphysical thinking generally corresponded to the state in which man perceived the world in isolation, perceived it as static and immutable. The material dialectical method of thinking, with its principles that reflect the objective movement and development of things and phenomena within mutually binding relationships, permits us to gain a deep understanding of the true essence of the world, in general, and of each thing and phenomenon.

The formation and development of a method of thinking depend upon the world view and scientific knowledge of each person. At the same time, they are also dependent upon what each person does to train himself in the process of gaining an understanding of reality and engaging in practical activities. Habits, way of life, livelihood, class interests, traditions, ethnic traits and so forth, which reflect living conditions and the level of development of production, also have a very large influence upon each person's method of thinking.

The major characteristic of small-scale production is that individual producers are separated from one another. Within this system of production, persons using crude tools conduct activities that are disorganized, monotonous and slow. The forces of nature are still mystical forces that hold sway over man... It is under these conditions that the style and way of thinking of the small-scale producer are formed, the main characteristic of which is to see things and phenomena in isolation, to see them as static and only see their external form, not the complex relationships among different factors and the wide-ranging impacts they have upon one another. Therefore, the thinking of the small-scale producer never reaches the point of comprehensive analysis, never delves into the internal nature of things and phenomena, but only sees certain aspects, certain factors that are consistent with the small-scale producer's pragmatic, temporary and one-sided objectives.

Small-scale producers are also unaccustomed to viewing and examining things in their complex movement, development and evolution and all the contradictions these entail. They accept experiences passively, without examining or criticizing them. They do not dare change outmoded ways or practices and generally reject new and positive things that are emerging. Also as a result of this absence of scientific thinking and analysis, in the face of things that are new, they either reject them on the basis of personal feelings or view the positive aspects of these new things as ideal and fail to see that the limitations contained within these new things that must be overcome and improved. This is the radical and rigid attitude that small-scale producers have. They have no historical perspective and lack a clear concept regarding the concreteness of truth.

Moreover, in our country, the thousands of years of rule by Eastern feudalism with its centralization of powers and hundreds of years of rule by colonialism, both old style and new, have had a considerable impact upon the style and way of thinking of each person in every aspect of life, especially in the socio-economic field. Although they have lived for thousands of years amidst small-scale production and not taken one step forward, they still praise the country life. They evaluate others not on the basis of the productivity, quality and efficiency of the work contributed by each person to society, but on the basis of standards that relate to external form, on the basis of social status and reputation. For this reason, their thinking is usually enmeshed with prejudices, complexes and the factors of formalism.

We are building socialism in a country that is advancing from a system of production that is largely small scale, a country that has also experienced 30 years of continuous and violent war. These factors have made a deep imprint upon the method of thinking of each of us. A revolutionary war, a war of

liberation have laws of their own. To put into practice the slogans "everything for the frontlines," "everything for victory over the aggressors" and "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," we had to obey the laws of war. It was necessary to increase the degree of centralization, limit the practice of democracy and institute a war time style of leadership, guidance and management. In war time circumstances, this is the only way to assemble each and every force, to build a strong revolutionary-offensive will and spirit... On the other hand, today, due to the serious consequences of the long and violent war, the attitude of wanting to quickly put the rubble of the war behind us and build a peaceful and stable life of comfort at a time when existing material conditions are still underdeveloped easily leads to simplistic, impetuous thinking, to subjective and willful thinking, to the thinking of wanting to skip stages.

Our understanding of the characteristics of the country, the steps involved in the initial stage and the contradictions that arise in the process of building socialism is still not full, deep or comprehensive. In particular, our knowledge of what is entailed in advancing to socialism within an underdeveloped country such as ours is still very limited. We have not fully reviewed or examined what we have done in practice. The majority of leadership and management cadres have not received systematic training in economic management or social management and have not gained much experience in these fields. These factors have also influenced our method of thinking.

The dynamic realities of the revolution and the continuous change that occurs in large-scale industrial production demand a compatible method of thinking. The decisive impact that practice has upon the method of thinking lies therein. However, learning and applying the principles of the method of thinking of the material dialectic and cultivating pure sentiments and thoughts are also very important factors in acquiring a revolutionary and scientific method of thinking.

The method of thinking of the material dialectic is the most scientific and revolutionary method of thinking in both theoretical research and practical actions. Dialectical thinking has its own system of principles, the essence of which are the laws of dialectical logic, which reflect the general laws of the objective world. These principles are considered the path that thinking must take in order to know an object in its general and specific states.

The dialectical method of thinking demands that each thought process lead to objective, scientific conclusions. These conclusions, therefore, must be the result of accurate information on the object being studied by man. The starting point of each thought process must be objective truth. Therefore, thinking must relate to the object within a specific framework of space and time. This is the principle of the specific historical relevance of a method of thinking. Of course, each thing and phenomenon is always moving, developing and evolving. As a result, the principle of specific historical relevance does not mean that the thinking concerning an object always remains the same and is rigid, rather, it encompasses examining the inevitable internal movement of an object. Thus, categories and concepts must be stable but must also be able to be expanded and augmented, able to evolve. The laws on the socialist revolution and socialist construction that were set forth at

the Conferences of the Communist and Worker Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 are universal laws that apply to all countries advancing to socialism. Only under the impact of these universal laws can the socialism being built be the genuine, scientific socialism of Marxism-Leninism. However, the practice of socialist construction in the world in recent years has raised many questions, such as the relationship between the economic laws of socialism and the law of value under socialism; the relationships among goods-money, economic accounting and socialist business practices; the relationships among the state-operated economy, the household economy and public ownership; the use of economic levers and the implementation of social distribution and fairness; and the relationship between the socialist international division of labor and economic cooperation and economic development in breadth and depth and socialist industrialization in underdeveloped countries. If a revolutionary and scientific method of thinking is not employed in the period of transition to socialism, it is impossible to meet the new requirements raised by real socialism.

The scientific method of thinking views the existence of things and phenomena in space and time as compatible with specific circumstances. Once a thing exists, it cannot be denied in either theory or practice. Every economic structure and management mechanism plays a specific role in the course of development of mankind and makes certain contributions to the common progress made by man. As long as it continues to have a positive impact, it should not and cannot be negated or shifted to another stage of development, even if higher. At the same time, it is also necessary to know when this positive impact has come to an end in order to promptly shift to a new stage, one consistent with new circumstances. The final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers at agricultural production cooperatives, the household economy of collective farmers and other laborers, the matter of tapping the activism of laborers by means of offering material incentives, combining the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer in a way that is balanced and raising the level of political and ideological awareness...are living realities that reflect many factors, one of which is the method of thinking. Conversely, when a thing has developed to the point where it, itself, demands that it be negated, that is, when this thing no longer exists, our view toward this thing and our thinking must change to promptly adjust to the new thing that emerges. The management system based on state subsidies came into being against the background of the long and violent war and large aid from the outside. It was suited to and necessary under war time conditions. Instead of quickly replacing this management system when new circumstances emerged, we were slow to act and allowed it to persist and become a system based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, especially within the field of prices, wages and money, thereby restricting the development of production and creating additional difficulties in the lives of the people, especially cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. This system must be completely negated and replaced by a new management system that has the plan at its center and is closely tied to economic accounting and socialist business practices. However, from the standpoint of the method of thinking, it would be incorrect here to think that we could replace the entire old management

system with the new system overnight, even though we must take determined, urgent steps to do so. Because, this is a very complicated undertaking, one that requires a certain process.

Of course, the flexibility that is inherent in the dialectical method of thinking demands that we examine things and phenomena based on reality and engage in serious scientific analysis of them for the sake of the advance of the common revolutionary cause. Ours must not be convenient, subjective thinking based on pragmatism, existentialism or sophistry for the sake of mercenary, selfish and shallow motives. V.I. Lenin wrote: "The complete and universal flexibility of concepts, flexibility to the point where opposites are synonymous--this is the essence. When applied subjectively, this flexibility is eclecticism and sophistry. When applied in an objective manner, that is, when it reflects the comprehensive nature of material processes and the unity of these processes, it is the dialectic, is the accurate reflection of the perpetual development of the world."(1)

The world, in general, and each thing and phenomenon is an entity consisting of structural relationships and factors. Within this system, each factor and each relationship has its own specific function and position. Consequently, the dialectical method of thinking demands that thinking be based on the collection of comprehensive, systematic information so that things and phenomena can be viewed correctly and fully. Of course, the comprehensive and systematic nature of the dialectical method of thinking does not exclude, but encompasses examining factors and relationships from the standpoint of the cause and effect impact they have upon one another. Every effort must be made by us to grasp those fundamental factors and relationships that determine the existence and development of things and influence other factors and relationships in order to stimulate the development of all things. Le Duan has frequently pointed out that our party's general line and its line on building the socialist economy are a single, complete entity in which objectives, means and measures, production forces and production relations, the economic base and the superstructure, the economy and national defense, transformation and construction, subjective dynamism and objective conditions, causes and results...are closely combined with, stimulate and pervade each other. The combined strength of our country's revolution is created through the coordination of these factors and the reciprocal impact they have upon each other. However, there are several issues within the line that must be given special attention: firmly maintaining the proletarian dictatorship, building the system of collective ownership of the laboring people and carrying out socialist industrialization.

Lastly, the most important principle of the dialectical method of thinking is the principle of practicality. Karl Marx emphasized that thinking is developed on the basis of practical activities, activities that reveal the attributes and the laws of the movement of things that have been recognized. It is also practical activities, the activities conducted by man as he transforms the world in accordance with his needs, that are the force that stimulates thinking, are the objective toward which thinking must be oriented. It is in these practical activities that the correctness of ideological views, of lines and policies is tested. This is the direct impact that practice has in affirming or negating thinking. The principle of practicality insures that

thinking is always in line with our changing and developing life and avoids thinking that is "in the clouds." This is even more important in economic thinking, a field which demands that we rapidly make changes and improvements in view of the urgent needs of our country to accelerate economic activities. Only by changing our economic thinking can we improve economic activities, improve the structure of the economy and the economic management system.

Economic thinking is not a special type of thinking, but the thinking of the material dialectic applied in the economic field, thinking based directly on the economic doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. The most important requirement of economic thinking is that this thinking be entirely revolutionary and scientific in nature. The matter of most pressing importance at this point in time is that economic thinking must, on the basis of thoroughly understanding the objective laws of socialism, most importantly those that apply in the initial stage of the period of transition, and thoroughly understanding the general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the economy of socialism that have been set forth by our party, be directed toward concretizing these lines as socio-economic strategy, long-term and short-term plans, major policies and measures and specific forms, mechanisms and stages that are consistent with the practice of our country's revolution. At the same time, economic thinking must define principles and forms of organization and management that result in all segments of the economy that are based on different types of production relations in this initial stage playing their role well in order to create many products for society and develop in the direction of socialism.

Le Duan pointed out that in the field of the economy and economic management, the most important tasks that confront us are: the entire national economy must be reorganized and managed in accordance with a dynamic mechanism, one that permits us to mobilize all production capacity and develop all potentials that lie in our labor, arable land and other natural resources. The new management mechanism must insure the correct application of the laws of socialism, especially the laws of an economy advancing from small-scale production. Thoroughly dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shifting entirely to management that has the plan at its center and is closely tied to economic accounting and socialist business practices and orienting each production and business activity toward the achievement of higher productivity, quality and efficiency, these are the demands of life."<sup>(2)</sup> These guidelines and tasks also demand that we revise our economic thinking, that we cultivate a revolutionary and scientific method of thinking.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, Volume 29, pp 117-118.
2. Le Duan: "Thang loi vi dai cua chu nghia Mac-Le-nin o Viet nam"[The Great Victory of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam], NHAN DAN Newspaper, September 1985.

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## ECONOMIC CONTRACTS AND ECONOMIC ARBITRATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 47-52

[Article by To Duy]

[Text] Every commodity production economy demands product trade. K. Marx wrote: "In order for these things to relate to one another as commodities, the persons who have these commodities must exchange them with one another as though the wills of these persons existed within these things... This legal relationship, the form of which is a contract--be it upheld by the law or not--is a relationship among wills, one that reflects economic relations."(1) When the commodity economy formed and developed, V.I. Lenin also pointed out: "Now, this base is no longer a natural economy and trade is not in-kind trade for work performed by the two parties for each other...but 'voluntary' contracts, commodity trade contracts, contracts under which payment is made in money."(2) Such ordinary commodity trade contracts are civil contracts.

The socialist mode of production is based on the public ownership of the means of production; however, because other forms of ownership still exist, production under socialism is still commodity production. The socialist economy is a planned commodity economy and gives birth to a legal category that is unique to socialism: the economic contract. The economic contract is not just the result of pure commodity production, as is the case with civil contracts, but is the necessary product of planned commodity production under socialism, is the natural result of the reciprocal impact between the law of planned development of the national economy and the law of value. These economic contracts are the exchange of economic interests among socialist business entities. When signing economic contracts in order to carry out the tasks of their plans, socialist economic organizations express their interests within the contract document in a manner consistent with the interests of society as expressed within plan documents. This product trade is carried out on the basis of value and has the aim of guaranteeing the interests of the parties signing the contract. At the same time, when negotiating contracts, the parties incorporate the contents of their plan document as clauses of the contract. Thus, it is clear that without economic contracts, it is impossible to implement the plan within the economy with a division of labor, specialization and cooperation. The economic contract brings together as one two factors: the factor of property and the factor of organization-the plan. It is the legal form of the commodity-money relations that exist within the

planned economy of socialism and reflects horizontal relationships and coordination among economic organizations for the purpose of working together to complete the common tasks of the state plan. Therefore, the economic contract that parties discuss and sign is not only designed to bring about commodity trade but is also a combined reflection of the economic relations that exist in the process of social reproduction and is itself organized to carry out the process of socialist reproduction.

On the other hand, economic contracts always consist of two parts: provisions required by the law and stipulated by the plan and provisions agreed to on a voluntary basis by the parties to the contract. Under socialism, business entities, regardless of how they differ from the standpoint of their administrative position within the apparatus or the nature and level of production relations, establish relations with one another on the basis of the principles of voluntary association and mutual benefit. This stems from the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism as well as the law of distribution in accordance with labor and the law of value in the production and business of each economic unit. An economic contract is both voluntary and legally binding. However, the voluntary nature of an economic contract does not reduce but strengthens and increases its legal nature. The parties to contract relations not only have an obligation to each other, but also work together to fulfill an obligation to the state. If the voluntary nature of economic contract relations is reduced, it will weaken, even completely undermine their legal nature. The voluntary nature of an economic contract combines with its legally binding nature to become a factor that stimulates the development of the national economy in accordance with the plan.

In contrast to the majority of socialist countries, which have a system of large-scale production with a system of stable economic relations, our country has entered the period of transition to socialism from a system of small-scale commodity production that is predominantly subsistent in nature and in which manual labor is universally employed, is bypassing the stage of capitalist development and must simultaneously perform two tasks: building and defending the fatherland. Under such conditions, the economic contract is a necessary product of the planned commodity economy; on the other hand, it is a positive tool in stimulating socialist transformation and socialist construction, in stimulating the processes of the centralization and specialization of production, thereby helping to accelerate the work of building the system of large-scale socialist production. Therefore, economic contract work must be governed by the following characteristics of primary importance:

First, our country's economy, although it includes a state-operated economic segment, which plays the dominant role, and a collective economic segment, still consists of many segments. In the South, there is still a private economy and a capitalist economy and the free market is still widespread. The products produced by the non-state-operated segments of the economy account for a rather large percentage of the gross social product. Therefore, besides the contract relations that exist within the state-operated economy, the contract relations between the state-operated economy and the other segments of the economy occupy an important position. If these types of contract relations are properly guided and managed by the various levels of the



administration, it will result in the development of many potentials and the production of many products, thereby helping to resolve the difficulties we face. This characteristic demands that the various levels of administration, especially those agencies that are directly responsible for managing economic contract work, attach importance to managing processing contracts, contracts on the sale of raw materials and procurement of products and two-way supply and agricultural, forest and marine product procurement contracts. This characteristic also demands that those who are engaged in the work of researching and drafting legal documents attach importance to defining the limits of civil law and the limits of contract law, especially with regard to who is subject to this law, against the background of many different economic segments being utilized through economic contracts. As regards the statutes that define who is an individual under the law, attention must be given to establishing the relationship between court suits and arbitration suits.

Secondly, our country is advancing to socialism from an economy that is primarily one of small-scale production, an economy within which production forces are still at a low level of development and manual labor is still universally utilized. Small industry and handicraft output still accounts for a large percentage of the value of industrial output. Within agriculture, the division of labor and specialization in production are still at a low level of development and we do not have many centralized, specialized farming areas. Decentralized production and subsistence on an area by area, locality by locality basis have thwarted centralization, specialization and cooperation in production, thwarted efforts to develop the economic-technical sectors and thwarted the establishment of rational relations between the sectors and areas. Such decentralized and underdeveloped production forces have led to low social labor productivity, a small surplus product and the failure of the commodity economy to develop. This characteristic demands that the state intensify the scientific-technological revolution and the establishment of the new division of social labor in order to gradually shift agricultural production away from manual labor and decentralization to centralized production involving the use of machines and gradually build highly specialized economic sectors, economic zones and segments of the economy. In view of these objective requirements, it is not only necessary to consider economic contracts a necessary product, a necessary result of the socialist commodity economy, but also necessary to take the initiative in leading and using economic contract relations as effective tools in helping to break subsistent relations and accelerate the development of the commodity economy in the direction of the state plan. In view of the fact that the low level of development and the decentralized nature of production forces have limited our ability to practice direct planning and limited the effectiveness of the plan, organizing and leading economic contract relations well will create the conditions for formulating and implementing the plan better, thus helping to spur the establishment of joint businesses, economic ties and cooperation in production and business, for introducing science and technology in production, expanding the relations involved in the circulation of goods, encouraging direct relations among economic units and, on this basis, making positive contributions to stimulating the development of the commodity economy in accordance with the guidelines of the state plan. Of course, it is necessary to closely combine the plan with contracts and closely manage these contracts with a view toward maintaining plan discipline and guaranteeing that each

economic tie and joint business is in line with the plan and increases its effectiveness.

Thirdly, following 30 years of war, our country's economy is seriously imbalanced in many respects. From a subjective standpoint, our planning is still at a low level of development and the supply capabilities of the state are only enough to enable equipment and machinery to be operated at 50 percent of capacity at a time when many potentials in our arable land, natural resources and labor have not been developed. The old economic management system, the system based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, a product of the war, is obstructing the development of production. This situation demands that the state establish a new, dynamic and rational economic management system, one that has the plan at its center and implements economic accounting and socialist business practices.

Throughout the war, in order to deal with the war's destruction, we decentralized economic activities and instituted self-sufficiency on an area by area basis. This resulted in the development of the decentralized production of the small farmer economy along with fragmented, petty thinking and the way of life of doing as one sees fit. This characteristic together with shortcomings on our part in managing the state economic apparatus and the system of law as well as inadequate policies have caused a lack of respect for the law, failure to comply with the law or compliance with the law in any manner seen fit to become widespread among the people, among state civil servants and even among a number of persons responsible for managing the economy. As a result, in the leadership and management of the economy, we have placed light emphasis upon the law and not used legal methods to put the management of the economic apparatus on a regular and effective basis.

General Secretary Le Duan pointed out: "We must manage society and manage the economy by means of the state system of law. It is only through the state, only by means of state systems, regulations and standards, by means of the system of economic law and the entire system of state law that the lines, policies and tasks set by the party can become part of the life of society, can be implemented." (3) Thus, in building the new economic management system, importance must be attached to building the system of economic law, to legal documents on economic contracts and the resolution of disputes at the state economic arbitration agencies on the various levels, documents that truly consider economic contracts to be a vital part of the new economic management system. It is necessary to create a well coordinated system of management methods and attach full importance to legal methods in economic management. We must organize and manage economic contract relations well in order to erect a legal fence to insure that economic processes occur within the framework of the centralized, unified management of the state. Because economic contracts are both legal and economic in content, attaching importance to economic contracts is an essential requirement in maintaining socialist order within the economy, especially on the distribution-circulation front, combating decentralization and the practice of doing as one sees fit and upholding the principle of democratic centralism in economic management while vigorously tapping the initiative of basic units in production and business.

On the basis of its economic function, the socialist state guides economic activities, carries out the planning of the national economy and organizes and leads economic contract work. The state organizes economic arbitration agencies for the purposes of implementing state management of this field of work, guiding, inspecting and supervising compliance with economic contract regulations by the various levels and sectors and resolving economic disputes. The realities of socialist construction in the fraternal socialist countries and in our country have shown that without economic contracts, it is impossible to formulate and implement plans well and, without state arbitration, it is impossible to implement contract regulations well. Therefore, economic contracts and state economic arbitration are important tools in the management of the national economy. This is a factor that is in the nature of a law in the building of the socialist economy in all countries.

The above mentioned general principles of socialist construction and the characteristics of the period of transition to socialism in Vietnam explain the argument presented in the Political Report of the Central Committee at the 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam: "Economic contracts must truly become the basis upon which plans are formulated and implemented, become an important means by which planning is combined with the use of market relations, become routine practice among basic economic units." The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee on 17 July 1984 also stated: "The state must soon promulgate strict regulations on economic contracts, strictly enforce balancing of account procedures in the implementation of contracts and increase the role played by economic arbitration in the process of signing and implementing economic contracts."

In our country, state economic arbitration agencies must perform all three of their functions well: their function as the staff of the party committee and administration that proposes positions and measures with regard to the formulation of policies and laws and to organizing and guiding economic contract work and state arbitration; the legal function of inspecting compliance with contract law, resolving disputes and prosecuting violations, thereby helping to restore socialist order in economic management, combat negative phenomena in production and business, protect the lawful rights and interests of the parties to contracts and protect socialist property; the management function of putting into practice the role of the economic contract as the tool used to formulate and implement the plan and combine planning with the use of market relations for the purpose of managing the national economy.

To fulfill all three of these functions, state arbitration agencies must attach importance to performing both of their tasks: their task of managing economic contract regulations and their task of conducting inspections, resolving disputes and prosecuting violations. To be compatible with the characteristics of our country, state arbitration agencies must engage in several different forms of activity: the activities involved in the resolution of disputes, preventive activities and regulatory activities. To perform economic contract work well, it is necessary to establish a system of contract relations that is flexible both from the standpoint of the parties to contracts and the specifics involved in contract relations so that this system is consistent with our characteristics, namely, carrying out construction and transformation at the same time while improving the system of law and

continuously improving the management system and planning mechanism. Of foremost importance is the need to establish a mechanism that guarantees the rights of enterprises in direct economic relations. This requires that legal documents as well as the management and guidance provided by administrative-economic management agencies be oriented toward insuring that economic units can take the initiative in signing contracts that enable them to utilize all four sources of goods and materials so that they can formulate their production, business and product marketing plans in the most positive manner possible. In the guidance they provide, management agencies must focus their efforts on guiding and supervising basic units in the signing and implementation of contracts from the time that they are preparing to formulate their plan, defending their plan before the upper level and implementing their plan until the completion of their plan is evaluated and approved. The delivery of products in exact accordance with the contract must be established as a standard for evaluating the quality of a basic unit's completion of its plan. In conjunction with encouraging and expanding direct economic relations among basic economic units, administrative-economic management agencies must give special attention to guiding the establishment and management of contract relations between the state-operated economy and the other segments of the economy. The realities of the evaluation and improvement of the completion of state plans by the various sectors and localities in the recent past have shown that localities in which the party committee and administration have concerned themselves with guiding and managing economic contract relations within small industry and the handicraft trades and agricultural, forest and marine product procurement contracts are localities that have met or exceeded their norms on the delivery of agricultural and food products to the central level and the sale of retail consumer goods to cadres, manual workers and civil servants.

While building and refining the system of law as well as the new management system and planning mechanism, it is necessary to provide good leadership of economic contract work and state economic arbitration and, through this effort, supplement and refine the system of law and the new management system. These are two dialectically related factors, neither of which can be given light attention. We must combat the thinking that because our system of law is not complete, because the management system is not yet stable, we cannot use economic contracts or investigate and prosecute economic contract violations. Everyone knows that the law is a component of the superstructure that is built upon the economic base. Therefore, when the economy moves and develops, the law must be appropriately amended and refined. Our law must reflect the requirements of the development of our country's economy in the initial stage of the period of transition, reflect views that are correct and consistent with the actual situation. Therefore, all levels and sectors must guide contract work in exact accordance with current law, in a manner compatible with management practice so that they can, on this basis, gain experience and amend, build and refine the law. This is an approach that is consistent with our characteristics. On the other hand, the primary causes of economic contract disputes and violations are a lack of knowledge of the law and objective difficulties. Therefore, the appropriate approach to take is to conduct inspections and provide guidance and supervision while removing the obstacles faced by basic units in order to establish rational economic relations and give state economic arbitration activities practical

effectiveness. Of course, we must attach full importance to the strict but just prosecution of cases involving intentional contract violations and the harsh punishment of undesirable elements who cause damage to or violate socialist property, especially cases that are part of the enemy's scheme to commit sabotage. We must also soon define the limits of civil law and economic contract law because the utilization of many different economic segments in the initial stage of the period of transition has given rise to many problems that must be resolved regarding who may enter into a contract, the principle of being an individual under the law and the relations between court suits and arbitration suits. This issue is pressing in nature because there are relations that are not regulated by any field of law and many property disputes that are not governed by a specific type of suit. However, this is also a problem that relates to the rather complex legislative field in Vietnam and the resolution of this problem must be based on full research into the development of economic relations and into coordination among many sectors in applying the achievements of the science of law and the science of economics.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx: "Das Kapital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, Book I, Volume I, pp 163-164.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume I, pp 650-651.
3. Le Duan: "Cac manh gia hoi chu nghia o Viet nam," [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 446.

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## SOME THOUGHTS ON BUILDING AND PERFECTING THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASES OF SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 53-58

[Article by Truong Son]

[Text] Part I.

In the course of carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction, we have built a number of material-technical bases of socialism. Within agriculture, we have established nearly 400 state farms, organized more than 30,000 cooperatives and production collectives and established thousands of experimental research stations, farms and units. The state has equipped agriculture with tens of thousands of tractors and built thousands of electric pump stations capable of irrigating and draining several million hectares of farmland. In industry, the state has constructed 2,600 central and local state-operated enterprises and organized nearly 4,000 cooperatives and 10,000 production teams. As a whole, the country has 40,000 tool making machines of various types, 1.4 million kw of electricity generating capacity, 8-9 million tons of coal production capacity, 500,000 tons of iron and steel production capacity, 3.5 million tons of cement production capacity, 700,000 tons of chemical fertilizer production capacity, 450 million meters of silk cloth production capacity, 130,000 tons of paper production capacity... In communications and transportation, we have nearly 3,000 kilometers of railroad, more than 70,000 kilometers of highway, 7,000 locomotives and railroad cars and nearly 400,000 tons of ships. In capital construction, we have 400 basic units that produce building materials and some 35,000 pieces of construction machinery of various types. In distribution-circulation, there are thousands of state stores and tens of thousands of marketing cooperatives. In education, culture and public health, we have 12,000 general schools, 80 colleges, 300 middle schools, 300 trade training schools, hundreds of scientific research agencies, 700 hospitals and medical aid clinics with more than 200,000 beds...

We greatly respect the material-technical bases that have been constructed because they represent not only the sweat, but also the blood of our compatriots and soldiers. We consider them to be precious assets of ours as we travel the path to socialism. However, it must be clearly recognized that our existing material-technical bases are very small. On the average, each

worker within the material production sector is equipped with only 3-4 dong (new money) in fixed assets. Moreover, these bases do not create a suitable structure and are seriously lacking in balance. This is not to mention the fact that many of our enterprises were built 20 to 30 years ago, consequently, their technology is outmoded and much of their machinery and equipment is broken. This situation, not just shortages of raw materials and energy as has long been claimed, is a very important reason why the level of machine and equipment capacity utilization is generally very low (40-50 percent).

## Part II.

To advance our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production, that is, to complete socialist industrialization, we must transform agriculture and develop it by building water conservancy projects, applying chemistry and carrying out mechanization and electrification with the aims of meeting the needs for grain and food for society, raw materials for industry and agricultural products for exportation. We must widely expand light industry, from central industry to local industry, from small and medium scales to large scale, from crude technology to modern technology in order to produce the majority of the consumer goods needed for domestic consumption and exportation. We must give rational priority to the development of heavy industry so that we can retool agriculture and equip the sectors of the national economy with some technology. In particular, we must build the infrastructure for production, which consists of those sectors that directly support material production, such as the communications-transportation system, the information and posts-telecommunications system, urban systems and so forth, and those sectors that indirectly support production, such as education, culture, public health... To perform these jobs, we absolutely must industrialize the building sector so that we can promptly build high quality material-technical bases of socialism and cultural and welfare projects for the people.

These are all the things that we must do, are the targets that we must meet. To meet these targets, we must take positive steps to improve existing bases and gradually build new ones under the guideline of properly combining development in depth with development in breadth. Some persons are of the opinion that because our economy is still very backward and our material-technical bases are still very small, our primary guideline should be development in breadth, not development in depth. The opposite view holds that because our material-technical bases, although small, are not being fully utilized, primarily because of imbalances, our main guideline must be development in depth. Both of these views have a basis in reality; however, the question we face is that of properly combining development in depth with development in breadth. On the one hand, we must attach full importance to investing in development in depth, with capital being allocated first for investments in balancing and coordinating bases with a view toward fully utilizing each existing capability. On the other hand, we must carefully consider investments in breadth and allocate capital in a truly centralized fashion consistent with capabilities and requirements with the aim of achieving high economic returns.

### Part III.

At present, and for many years to come, agriculture continues to be the front of foremost importance; therefore, full importance must be attached to building material-technical bases for agriculture. Our agriculture is still heavily dependent upon nature, soil quality is degrading and we have a surplus of labor. Therefore, the guidelines for improving and strengthening the material-technical bases of agriculture in the years ahead are: continuing to develop water conservancy projects and complete farmland irrigation projects and eventually provide effective irrigation and drainage by scientific methods. Investments must be made in the establishment of bases for researching and applying the achievements of the biological revolution and developing new, high yield and highly resistant varieties of crops. Every possible step must be taken to provide a full supply of lime, increase the supply of fertilizer and supply all the pesticide that we need in order to improve the soil and protect crops. We must consolidate and restructure the research institutes and experimental stations and farms and closely link them to basic production units. As regards machinery, the focus of our immediate efforts must be to maintaining and making full, good use of existing machines, providing a full supply of hand implements and improved implements, increasing the supply of water pumps, motorized and non-motorized rice threshing machines, means of transportation... We must continue to supply tractors to places where they are needed and replace tractors that have worn out, but we must primarily increase the supply of working machines and meet spare part needs. As regard energy, positive steps must be taken to develop small-scale hydroelectric power projects where the necessary conditions exist. Importance must be attached to developing traditional forms of energy, including the planting of trees for firewood, and gradually developing new forms, such as collecting solar radiation to generate heat for pumping water or drying crops, using the wind as a source of power to turn electric generators or water pumps and collecting methane gas from waste matter for use as fuel for cooking or lighting with a view toward helping to "partially" solve the problem of bringing electricity to the countryside. Over the long range, along with the development of industry, we will gradually raise the level of water conservancy, the application of chemistry, mechanization and electrification in agriculture and advance agriculture to higher stages of development.

The building of material-technical bases for agriculture must also be closely tied to the guidelines and structure of agricultural development. In the immediate future, efforts must be concentrated on building material-technical bases for the high yield rice growing areas in the Red River Delta, the Mekong Delta and elsewhere in order to basically resolve the grain problem at an early date. At the same time, appropriate investments must be made in the establishment of a number of areas that specialize in the production of such industrial crops as rubber, coffee, tea, tobacco, cotton, jute and mulberries in order to create stable sources of raw materials for the processing industry.

The development of state farms is an important guideline of socialist agriculture. However, we do not have much experience in this area and our investment capital is still limited. In the immediate future, therefore, it



is necessary to improve the material-technical bases of existing state farms with the aim of achieving higher productivity, quality and efficiency.

The major difficulty within our agriculture is that we have little land and many people. Opening new land in order to increase the amount of area under cultivation is a matter of strategic significance. However, experience has shown that this is not a simple matter. Therefore, the clearing of land and establishment of new economic zones should be carried out under the guideline "fewer, but better," and appropriate, well coordinated investments must be made in both production and living conditions, with special attention to building the infrastructure so that life in these zones is quickly stabilize and the conditions are created for everyone to feel secure and work with enthusiasm to build the new economic zone.

The development of agriculture is closely related to forestry because the forests serve two important purposes: providing protection and supplying products. Therefore, together with building material-technical bases for agriculture, we must strengthen the material-technical bases of the forestry sector with a view toward improving, protecting and developing the forests by combining agriculture and forestry. Facts have shown that one of the most important material-technical bases of agriculture-forestry is expanding the planting of trees and building forests throughout the territory of our country, from the mountainous forests and terraced hills to the lowlands and seacoast so that we can develop the production of grain and industrial crops and build tree systems with a view toward making full, combined use of tropical biological potentials and producing both agricultural and forest products on the same piece of land while improving the environment, improving the soil and protecting the health of the laborer.

Attention must be given to building material-technical bases for agriculture in a way that is closely tied to building the material-technical bases of industry and export activities for the purpose of establishing agricultural-industrial-export production and business combines.

Communications and transportation are part of the infrastructure of production and must be developed first in order to create favorable conditions for the other sectors to develop. The material-technical bases within our communications-transportation sector today are exceedingly small, outmoded and seriously imbalanced, which has not only caused transportation efficiency to be low, but has, at certain times and places, also obstructed production and created difficulties in everyday life. To correct this situation, efforts to build materials-technical bases for the communications-transportation sector must first be focused on such matters as building seaports and warehouses and increasing our cargo handling capacity with the aims of quickly loading and unloading means of transportation and reducing cargo transportation time; attaching importance to dredging channels, reinforcing bridges and upgrading road surfaces; accelerating the construction of new terminals; redeveloping communications in the capital Hanoi and the other municipalities; and expanding communications-transportation in the countryside and the mountains. On the other hand, we must develop and make widespread use of rudimentary and

improved means of transportation and increase our spare parts production and repair capacity so that we can prolong the life and make good use of existing means of transportation.

Over the long range, plans must be adopted to build well coordinated material-technical bases for the communications-transportation sector that give priority to the development of sea and river routes, to increasing the density of highways and railroads... We must build a system of seaports consisting of central ports and small, satellite ports. We must equip with cargo handling equipment that is suited to the size and nature of cargo. We must develop the various types of transport ships that operate along the seacoast, in the offshore waters and in waters far at sea and insure that these ships are of appropriate size and capacity. We must widely develop river route transportation throughout the country. We must build systems of river ports that are of suitable size and supplied with suitable cargo handling equipment. Widespread use must be made of tugboats, barges, steel reinforced concrete boats, bamboo reinforced concrete boats and the other types of general purpose means of transportation. We must strengthen and widely develop the highway system, including national highways and interprovincial, interdistrict and intervillage highways, and raise the density of roads that accommodate motor vehicles to a level two to three times higher than it is now. Plans must be adopted to improve and develop communications in the municipalities in an appropriate manner. We must improve, expand and eventually modernize the north-south railroad. We must develop the rail lines into industrial complexes and major economic zones, most importantly into the Central Highlands. Electricity must be installed along lines on which transportation needs are high. Civil aviation must gradually be developed in a way consistent with capabilities and requirements. We must complete the Noi Bai Airport and restore and build regional airports.

Building material-technical bases for the information and posts-telecommunications sector is also a pressing and basic requirement. To correct the backward state of development that exists today, it is necessary to increase our investments in order to build a unified, comprehensive, well coordinated and scientific national information network and eventually modernize this network with the aims of serving the information and liaison needs of the party and state, of the economic and cultural sectors and of the people to suitable degrees and with increasingly high quality. In particular, attention must be given to developing the long distance and local telephone networks into hamlets and villages so that we soon achieve the average of one telephone for every 100 persons.

The industrial sectors are currently encountering major difficulties: shortages of raw materials, supplies, energy, parts and packaging material and imbalanced production lines. The guideline of improving and building material-technical bases within industry in the years ahead is, therefore, designed to overcome these difficulties. In the immediate future, appropriate investments must be made in developing those sectors that produce raw materials for industry and building materials for construction because raw materials and building materials are a very critical problem of the economy. Thousands of factories cannot be operated at full capacity due to shortages of raw materials and hundreds of projects cannot be completed on schedule due to

building material shortages. The people also have a very large need for building materials for housing construction and repair. Full importance must be attached to developing the production of raw materials in agriculture and forestry because these are the basic and long-range sources of raw materials of the food product industry and light industry. The metallurgy sector must gradually be developed in a manner balanced with production and construction requirements. Attention must be given to investing in the domestic production of chemical raw materials to gradually replace imported chemicals. It is necessary to comprehensively develop the production of all types of building materials so that the rate of development of building material production is faster than the rate of capital construction. In addition to cement, lime, bricks and tiles, importance must be attached to developing and mechanizing the stone excavation sector at an early date.

The machine sector is the sector of key importance; however, the existing capacity of this sector is not being fully utilized due to raw material shortages and production lines that lack balance. Therefore, our main guidelines for the immediate future must be to increase our blank production capacity (cast blanks, forged blanks, pressed blanks...) and surface treating capacity (tempering, grinding, plating...); at the same time, we must expand our spare part production and repair capacity. Over the long range, we must eventually build a well structured machine sector capable of producing the majority of the basic equipment and machinery of the national economy.

Within the power sector, we must develop the electric power network in a way that is balanced with electricity sources, especially medium and low voltage transmission lines to insure that electricity is supplied to the places that need it. We must rebuild the electric power networks in the municipalities and equip households with electricity meters with a view toward using electricity frugally. In the coal sector, we must develop support systems, especially transportation, in a way that is well developed to eliminate the long-standing backlog of coal. On the other hand, we must continue to build the material-technical bases of the energy sector along lines that give priority to the development of hydroelectric power and attach importance to the development of local energy sources.

Water is as important in production and everyday life as electricity, if not more important. However, we have long given light attention to this industrial sector. Therefore, in the years ahead, appropriate investments must be made in exploring for sources of water, reconstructing and building new water plants and developing water main systems and purification plants.

Within light industry, we must, generally speaking, carry out development that is balanced in three areas: raw materials, production and packaging. Investments must primarily be made in raw materials but we cannot give light attention to packaging because there have been cases in which goods that have been produced could not be exported or transported due to a shortage of packaging materials. At the same time, we must continue to develop a number of necessary basic units within the processing industry, most importantly in the processing of grain, food products and pharmaceuticals.

At present, small industry and the handicraft trades are producing one-half of industrial output and employ millions of laborers. Therefore, plans must be adopted for gradually upgrading the technology and strengthening the material-technical bases of this sector with the aim of making full use of its large production capacity.

As regards capital construction, in past years, especially under the 1976-1980 plan, we committed the shortcoming of making sweeping, decentralized investments that far exceeded construction capabilities. As a result, many projects that are under deadlines remain unfinished at a time when investment capital and building materials are very limited. Consequently, in the next 5 to 7 years, we must restructure the construction industry, concentrate our capital and building materials on key projects and endeavor to complete the majority of unfinished projects so that they can be put into use. At the same time, we must do a good job of preparing investments so that construction work can begin on a small number of truly necessary projects, thereby giving ourselves a head start on plans for subsequent years. To do this well, we must, in addition to developing the production of building materials, find ways to make good use of existing construction equipment and supply common and improved tools to construction workers.

In conjunction with building material-technical bases supporting production, appropriate investments must be made in the construction of cultural, educational, public health, welfare and other projects.

In building the material-technical bases of socialism, one important requirement is the need to build research and training facilities. Because, only by conducting research (in the technical sciences, in the social sciences and through basic investigations) can we reach conclusions about what we should do, how to do it quickly and well and how to avoid going around in circles. And, only by providing training can we acquire a corps of skilled technical cadres and workers and perform economic construction and development tasks well.

The resolution of the Political Bureau on science and technology states that the more difficult economic conditions are and the lower the technical level of development of production is, the more we must attach importance to investing in scientific and technical activities, in training scientific and technical cadres. This is the path that will help us to quickly raise social labor productivity and resolve the difficulties now being encountered in the economy at their source.

We have long been making certain efforts in this area and have recorded initial achievements. For example, we have established a research and training system consisting of hundreds of institutes and colleges and several hundred vocational middle schools and trade training schools that have trained 2 million scientific-technical cadres and technical workers. However, compared to requirements, our work in this area is still marked by many weaknesses. Annual investments in this effort are still small and the material-technical bases supporting research and training are still underdeveloped. Therefore, in the years ahead, investments must be increased to 1-2 percent of national income in order to correct this weakness.

As regards research, the focus of efforts should be investments in strengthening the material-technical bases of existing units, both in terms of research equipment and facilities and living facilities, to insure that all cadres and personnel have adequate working conditions and achieve the highest possible efficiency. As regards training, the focus of our efforts should be investing in improving the quality of training by strengthening the material-technical bases that support research, instruction, learning and everyday life at schools with a view toward creating favorable conditions for teachers and students to teach well and learn well.

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SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION IN  
VIETNAM AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THIS STAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 59-70

[Text] Editorial Note: recently, to help prepare for the 6th Congress of the Party, the Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN held a scientific conference on the initial stage of the period of transition in Vietnam and the socio-economic strategy in this stage.

Participating in this scientific conference were the following comrades:

- Nguyen Anh Bac, colonel, the Advanced Military Academy;
- Tran Ngoc Canh, department chief, Ministry of Agriculture;
- Tran Viet Chy, department chief, Ministry of Agriculture;
- Pham Nhu Cuong, professor, chairman of the Vietnam Social Sciences Commission;
- Le Dang Doanh, department head, the Central Economic Management Research Institute;
- Ho Nhat Dan, department head, Ministry of Marine Products;
- Luu Van Dat, department head, Ministry of Foreign Trade;
- Nguyen Do, specialist, the Marx-Lenin Institute;
- Pham Minh Hac, profession and Ph.D., vice minister of education;
- Tran Dinh Hoa, head of the Mechanization General Department, Ministry of Agriculture;
- Pham Van Huan, M.S., deputy director of the cabinet of the Office of the Council of Ministers;
- Nguyen Quang Long, institute head, Ministry of Finance;
- Nguyen Mai, professor and Ph.D., head of the Economics Department of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee;
- Nguyen Ngoc Minh, profession, institute head, the Vietnam Social Sciences Commission;
- Tran Dinh Nghiem, assistant head of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism Institute, the Marx-Lenin Institute;
- Pham Van Nghien, Ph.D., Ministry of Communications-Transportation;
- Vu Huu Ngoan, editor-in-chief of TAP CHI NGHIEN CUU, the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School;
- Trinh Nguyen, assistant head of the Organization Department of the government;

- Hoang Huu Nhan, acting head of the Department of Industry of the Party Central Committee;
- Van Phac, member of the Party Central Committee and vice minister of culture
- Hoang Dinh Phu, vice chairman of the State Science and Technology Commission;
- Tran Quang, specialist, Department of Agriculture of the Party Central Committee;
- Tran Hong Quan, profession, M.A., vice minister of higher and vocational education;
- Tran Linh Son, professor, the Vietnam State Bank;
- Nguyen Thanh Son, specialist, Department of Industry of the Party Central Committee;
- Le Hong Tam, specialist, the Vietnam Social Sciences Commission;
- Che Viet Tan, deputy chief of the Economics Department of the Party Central Committee;
- Nguyen Te, M.S., specialist, the Economics Department of the Party Central Committee;
- Le Quang Thanh, institute head, Ministry of Interior;
- Le Thi, professor, acting head of the Institute of Philosophy, the Vietnam Social Sciences Commission;
- Phan Van Tiem, professor, Ph.D., acting chairman of the State Price Commission;
- Tran Huu Tien, M.S., the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School;
- Le Van To, specialist, the Department of Industry of the Party Central Committee;
- Dao The Tuan, professor, institute head, Ministry of Agriculture;
- Vu Huy Tu, Ph.D., the Office of the Council of Ministers;
- Le Trang, assistant department head, the Central Economic Management Research Institute.

Some comrades, because they were too busy to attend, sent copies of their presentations to the conference.

Beginning with this issue, in order to provide reference materials to our readers, we will publish excerpts from the presentations delivered at this scientific conference.

#### The Editorial Board of TAP CHI CONG SAN

Luu Van Dat:

The period of transition in our country is an important theoretical matter, one that has the effect of guiding our practical efforts in building socialism under the circumstances of our country and has the purposes of establishing the rational steps to be taken, the principal objectives and the main tasks in each stage of development and, on this basis, organizing a rational and efficient economic structure and building an appropriate management system, one suited to each stage.

As regards our country, I believe that the period of transition must involve at least two stages of development:

a) The first stage (stage 1) should have the main target and task of laying the foundations needed for large-scale industrialization.

b) The second stage (stage 2) should have the main targets and tasks of carrying out socialist industrialization on a large scale, completing socialist industrialization and building the material-technical bases of socialism in our country.

The process of industrialization should entail three stages:

Following the initial stage, the second stage should have the main targets and tasks of carry out industrialization and building a modern industrial system, a system of mechanized production capable of retooling all of agriculture and equipping the entire national economy with new technology.

The third stage should have the main target and task of completing socialist industrialization, thereby bringing the building of the material-technical bases of socialism to a virtual conclusion.

The above stages are only of relative significance. No clear line exists between one stage and the next. In the initial stage, although the main task and target are to lay the foundations needed for industrialization, we have begun, even in this stage, to build and develop industry (including a number of heavy industrial units) and build the infrastructure of the economy (communications-transportation, information-liaison, etc.). Only by building industry and the infrastructure in the initial stage is it possible to create the conditions needed for large-scale industrialization in the subsequent stage, or stages; however, efforts to build industry in the initial stage primarily have the aim of preparing the conditions for the next stage.

The initial stage is a necessity that stems from our country's circumstances, namely, our lack of the foundations needed to carry out industrialization on a large scale.

Therefore, in this stage, in conjunction with carrying out socialist transformation, establishing socialist production relations and building and developing socialist ideology and culture, it is necessary to stabilize and partially improve the standard of living and carry out the initial formation of capital for socialism, with stabilizing the standard of living being considered the pressing task of foremost importance.

To achieve the targets and complete the tasks described above, it is necessary to solve the following problems:

a) Restoring the economy, gradually correcting the imbalances (with energy, raw materials, grain, essential consumer goods, the infrastructure and exports-imports) within the economy that were left behind by history and stabilizing the economy: these are the prerequisites to developing production, stabilizing the market, prices, money and so forth and, on this basis, stabilizing the standard of living.



b) Building a minimum production force and creating some initial capital in the form of means of production and labor capable of bringing social production beyond simple reproduction and carrying out continuous expanded reproduction in order to accumulate capital from within the economy on an increasingly large scale. This is an indispensable prerequisite to large-scale industrialization.

Therefore, in this stage, it is necessary to:

a) Develop a diversified agriculture with the aim of producing many products and goods to meet the needs for grain and food products for society, raw materials for industry and goods for exportation.

b) Develop the sectors of the processing industry, especially the processing of agricultural, forest and marine products, and develop the consumer goods industry (including both small industry and the handicraft trades) and the export goods processing industry with a view toward meeting domestic needs, replacing import goods and increasing the sources of exports.

Therefore, at the very outset, agriculture must be closely tied to industry and agriculture and industry must be closely tied to exports-imports in order to help accumulate initial capital for socialism.

c) Build a number of heavy industrial units in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses: "Giving rational priority to the development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry" (resolution of the 4th Congress) and "the primary and foremost focus of heavy industry must be to stimulate the development of agriculture and the consumer goods industry." In this spirit, giving priority to the development of the energy sectors (coal, petroleum-gas), the agricultural chemicals sector (fertilizer, pesticides) and the machine production and repair sector is necessary and rational in the initial stage.

d) Develop communications-transportation, the information system and the overseas telecommunications system.

The initial stage can only be concluded following the virtual completion of the tasks presented above, that is, after we have stabilized the economy and the standard of living nationwide and begun to accumulate capital from within the national economy. Thus, when the initial stage concludes depends upon when we meet the targets and complete the tasks set for this stage and upon the specific standards by which the fulfillment of these targets and tasks is evaluated.

Nguyen Quang Long:

The Characteristics of the Initial Stage of the Period of the Transition to Socialism in Our Country:

Our country's revolution is currently in the initial stage of the period of transition. The major characteristics of this stage are:

1. The economy is primarily a small-scale production economy. Industry is not developed and lacks coordination, is still rather widespread, labor productivity is low and national income is small at a time when the population is large and growing at a rapid rate. The nature of the economy as a small-scale production economy has left deep imprints upon the thinking, the way of life and the way of earning a living of each person and all society.
2. Due to its underdeveloped state and the dire consequences of 30 years of war, the economy is seriously imbalanced in many respects. There is a lack of balance among sectors and among the various elements of the production and consumption process. Production does not meet capital formation or consumption needs at the necessary levels.
3. Our country's economy is a commodity production economy that is in need of strong development and consists of many different segments. Besides the state-operated and collective segments of the economy, which are being strengthened and expanded, private and capitalist segments of the economy still exist. Although the state-operated economy controls the key sectors and many vital basic units and, together with the collective economy, plays the role of controlling the national economy, it only accounts for about 40 percent of the value of total output while the private and capitalist segments of the economy still account for roughly 38 percent. As a result, the economic laws of socialism and the economic laws of capitalism and small-scale commodity production exist at the same time. The activities conducted under these laws encompass, control and struggle against one another in the process of combining socialist construction with socialist transformation in order to advance to large-scale, socialist production.
4. Since the South was totally liberated, the fatherland was reunified and the entire country began the advance to socialism, we, our efforts focused on construction, have been carrying out socialist industrialization while still having to wage bitter fights against external enemies, most immediately the Beijing reactionaries, who are waging a border war of encroachment and occupation and a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our people.
5. As regards international relations, we have established ties with many countries, especially increasingly close and comprehensive ties and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community. This is a very necessary and important base of support to our country as it advances directly from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production. On the other hand, however, the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, acting in collaboration with international reactionary forces, are seeking every way to encircle, isolate and sabotage us.

Le Dang Doanh:

The period of transition to socialism is a necessity. This was confirmed by Lenin: "The goal of the proletariat is the establishment of socialism... To accomplish this, a rather long period of transition from capitalism to socialism is required, because reforming production is a difficult task, because time is needed to bring about fundamental changes in each field of

life..."(1) Respecting the nature of the period of transition to socialism as a universal law and on the basis of the characteristics of our country's economy and society at the point at which we entered this period, our party decided to divide the relatively long and complex period of transition in our country into stages. This has not only helped us to clearly define the specific tasks and targets of each stage, but also to define the amount of time needed for each of these stages.

Our most significant achievement in the recent past has been that we have brought the economies of the South and the North, two economies with totally different production relations, opposite trends of development and separate histories, together within one unified, national economy that lies within the sphere of socialism. However, our country's socio-economic situation is still undergoing many changes and material-technical bases are underdeveloped and backward. Therefore, to be able to reduce and overcome the difficulties we face, stabilize and improve the standard of living, make important progress in each field, balance the economy and prepare for more solid strides forward in the next stage, we must urgently shift the focus of the economic management system, that is, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. We must take immediate steps to completely dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices in order to quickly achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency in production and business. The new management system must combine planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices and encompass the activities of all segments of the economy and all economic organizations through suitable management forms and measures. The aims of economic management must be to improve the quality of planning, apply the relations that exist between goods and money and employ economic levers to meet plan targets. The new economic management system must give the localities, sectors and basic units greater independence, tap their dynamism and creativity and make them fully responsible for the enterprise's process of reproduction. It must correctly apply the principle of democratic centralism, and eliminate bureaucratic centralism and everything that reflects localism, departmentalism and a lack of discipline.

We have entered the initial stage at a point at which the new production forces are at a very low level of development and many serious imbalances exist. Consequently, we must restructure the economy so that production is more efficient and production capacity is concentrated on the production of important products, concentrated within key units and areas. We must adjust consumption to keep the most essential consumer needs within the limits permitted by production. Determined steps must be taken to eliminate the demand for luxury goods, which exceed the capacity of the national economy. The labor and population problems demand that plans be adopted which provide effective and long-range solutions. On the one hand, we must quickly reduce the rate of population growth to a reasonable level. On the other hand, using the forces of all economic segments, every possible measure must be taken to create the maximum amount of work for laborers in the cities and the countryside and eliminate the shortage of work. In the initial stage, many major differences exist in terms of the level of development among sectors, between the mountains and the lowlands, between the cities and the countryside. Therefore, economic management must be unified on the basis of

fundamental principles. On the other hand, it must be diverse in form and degree so that the management provided is consistent with the level of development of each sector and locality. The objective must be to cause underdeveloped areas to develop more rapidly and move closer to the level of development in areas that are more developed. We cannot tolerate a "to each his own" management system, a system under which rich localities become richer, poor localities become poorer.

The initial stage is taking place within our country against the background of complex world economic conditions. Rising requirements in the field of international cooperation demand that the quantity and quality of export goods be steadily increased. Consequently, we must diversify our overseas economic relations and actively participate in the process of socialist economic cooperation. The structure of the economy must be examined from the perspective of the international division of labor and we must make the fullest possible use in international relations of the strengths that lie in our country's labor and natural resources in order to create a solid foundation within mutually binding relations. As regards economic management, policies must be adopted that break the economic embargo against us and attract capital and technology in order to develop the country's economy. Investments must focus on increasing our exports and developing important export products of high quality that are capable of competing on world markets. We must quickly develop beyond the point of gathering and harvesting export goods from the natural economic base or through small-scale production and must stop competing against one another in procurements and sales on the domestic and international markets.

We are in a period in which the world scientific and technological revolution has entered a new stage and is developing with tremendous strength. Science and technology have been and are becoming the principal and basic factor of economic growth and an important factor of social progress. Consequently, in economic management, we must stimulate the advancement of science and technology. At the same time, we must apply scientific and technical advances with the aim of achieving higher economic efficiency. We must attach importance to scientific and technical progress and introduce scientific and technical advances in all segments of the economy, in all fields of production and everyday life...

Che Viet Tan:

To formulate socio-economic strategy, we must not only adhere to the party's line on the socialist revolution, in general, and its economic development line, in particular, but must also clearly recognize the position of our country in the international arena and our country's responsibility within the special alliance of the three countries of Indochina and in our relations with the fraternal socialist countries. At the same time, we must also recognize what the starting point and the special socio-economic characteristics of our country are in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

During the past 10 years, although we have recorded achievements of historic significance, we still have not fundamentally changed the state of our economy, a weak and underdeveloped economy, an economy marked by major

imbalances that is still not truly stable, an economy whose starting point is weak material-technical bases and an undeveloped structure of commodity production. We also have not completed the basic tasks of the initial stage, namely, stabilizing the economy and laying the foundations needed to build the material-technical bases of socialism. Therefore, our tasks in the remaining years of the initial stage are to stabilize the socio-economic situation and lay the foundations needed to accelerate socialist industrialization. These two factors must be defined in both qualitative and quantitative terms. At the same time, we must set a number of targets regarding these primary requirements. Only by meeting these targets can we conclude the initial stage. In practical terms, however, the breakdown of stages in the process of advancing to socialism is relative, because, even while carrying out the initial stage, important factors of the next stage emerge.

In formulating socio-economic strategy in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, we must do so with a thorough understanding of the following several basic views:

1. Socio-economic strategy must combine internal and external factors as dictated by international conditions and circumstances with the aims of creating independent, internal bases for social reproduction and developing our poor and backward national economy. Under the new conditions that exist in the world today, it is difficult for any country to develop if it isolates itself from the outside. Moreover, our country lies within a region of the world economy that is undergoing many changes; therefore, our cooperation with other countries must be diversified, must be bilateral or multilateral.

2. We must build a rational economic structure. The economic structure is understood as being the structure of the sectors and territories and the structure of the different segments of the economy. At present, these different types of structures do not meet the requirements of economic development. The economic structure that we build must be compatible with the realities of our country in order to accelerate industrialization but also provide jobs. In selecting the guidelines for building a rational economic structure, we must give attention to the following:

- a) Introducing scientific and technical advances within the various sectors, especially agricultural production. Importance must be attached to agricultural production within an agro-industrial economic structure and, later, within an industrial-agricultural economic structure.

- b) Completing socialist transformation so that the socialist segments of the economy occupy the dominant position in everything from production to distribution-circulation and the new production relations are continuously improved in all three areas, the system of ownership, the system of distribution and the management system, with a view toward opening the way for and stimulating the strong development of production forces.

- c) Carrying out socialist industrialization and building new material-technical bases along lines that insure the independence and autonomy of our country's economy within an increasingly expanded division of labor and cooperation and bring us abreast of the new industrial age.

d) Adopting a management strategy designed to make good use of the capabilities of the Vietnamese within the different segments of the economy, the different economic forms and the different areas of the country. On this basis, we must build the cost accounting and socialist business management system. This new management system must properly apply economic laws through planning, manage the economy by means of suitable measures and policies and establish a good relationship between the formation of capital and consumption.

e) Selecting an overseas economic strategy that supports the process of reforming the economy, one that enables us to create the necessary sources of capital, receive advanced technology and make the most efficient use possible of domestic potentials.

Thus, the concept of building a rational economic structure is only a relative concept. It does not entail building all economic sectors in a way that is well coordinated. In the initial stage, when conditions only permit us to develop a limited number of sectors, we must know how to select optimum development plans.

Facts have shown that the limited investment capital, technology and other material conditions of our country do not permit us to undertake a multitude of construction projects in a sweeping fashion in the initial stage in order to meet the requirements of the economy. As a result, in our socio-economic strategy, we must select a system of strategic targets, a system of strategic policies and a system of strategic measures that are appropriate in view of the major problems that confront us, such as our very low starting point, our limited investment capital and the rapid growth of our population. These problems do not permit us to act in a way that is divorced from reality. At the same time, however, they do not permit us to stand idly by in the face of our difficulties. Rather, we must solve these problems by finding those areas in which we can make breakthroughs of decisive significance. These areas are the following five areas of major importance:

--First, we must redistribute the labor force and population, make optimum use of arable land and virtually resolve the problems of supplying grain to society and raw materials for the production of consumer goods while developing the service economy.

--Secondly, national income must be sufficient to improve the standard of living and, while not raising the standard of living to a high level, must insure that the energies expended in labor are replenished and that capital is accumulated from within the national economy to meet the requirements of socialist industrialization.

--Thirdly, the development of energy and transportation must precede development in other fields.

--Fourthly, the gap between exports and imports must be reduced. Exports and imports must become one of the bridges between agriculture and industry, must stimulate the development of production and develop the potential sources of capital of basic units, localities and sectors.

Fifthly, we must establish the new management system with a view toward tapping the human resources that exist within each segment of the economy, within each economic form in order to achieve a combined strength. We must dismantle the management system based on bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices and enable basic units, localities and sectors to display initiative.

To implement the strategic solutions presented above, our country's economy must be stabilized and go through many transitional stages, from a low to a high level of development, from small to large scale, with orderly development taking place in certain fields and leaps forward occurring in other fields depending upon the internal and external capabilities we can create or acquire.

Tran Quang:

In the initial stage of the period of transition in our country, agriculture (which includes forestry and fishing) is the front of foremost importance and must supply grain and food products to society and raw materials to industry, most importantly the processing industry, while increasing the sources of export goods and creating initial capital for socialist industrialization.

Building industry is necessary. However, the building of industry within our country in recent years has been very decentralized and has not resulted in the formation of a structure within which agriculture, forestry and fishing are closely tied to industry. On the other hand, we have not attached appropriate importance to agriculture, forestry or fishing (investments have been small, the procurement price policy is unreasonable...). The agricultural sectors themselves, which are closely related to one another by the fact that they all manage biological organisms that inhabit the same ecological zone, are also separated from one another from the standpoint of organization and the activities they encompass. Even within each sector there is a separation between one specialized sector and another, between crop production and livestock production, between the growth and harvesting of forests, between clearing land and protecting the environment, between production and processing and circulation-distribution and among the segments that produce a product of the same type. In the countryside, the household economy and the private economy are even considered to be opposing economic segments! This separation has given rise to many internal contradictions and nullified the mutual impact that the sectors have upon one another. These contradictions have been exacerbated by the fact that we have failed to correctly define the targets and steps to be taken in the advance to large-scale, socialist production during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country. Consequently, mistakes have been made in the way that production is organized (such as placing heavy emphasis upon size and form, wanting to immediately establish a highly specialized division of labor, separating the handicraft trades from agriculture, separating production from processing and trade...), as a result of which our country's rich and diversified agriculture, forestry and fishing are becoming poor and monotonous. Production areas, instead of being able to develop their strengths in order to support one another, are tightly tied to monoculture.

In summary, our agricultural, forestry and fishing sectors have failed in recent years to establish a rational internal structure, have not been closely tied to industry or the domestic and foreign markets and have been unable to carry out the process of expanded reproduction; consequently, they have been unable to develop existing potentials.

On the basis of economic development requirements, the laws of nature and socio-economic laws in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, the path followed in the development of agriculture, forestry and fishing in our country must be designed to gradually shift away from a subsistent, small-scale commodity production economy to a large-scale production economy by utilizing the three different forms of organization of specialized production (concentrated production areas specializing in perennial crops, concentrated production areas specializing in seasonal crops and semi-specialized production areas). To establish production areas of these types, it is necessary to conduct research and select those crops, species of livestock and trades that are well suited to the conditions at each place and then enact economic leverage policies to encourage the gradual formation of more and larger areas and gradually increase their product output. Selecting which of these three types of specialization to employ is mainly a matter of selecting forms and stages of development that are compatible with the characteristics of our country's agriculture in the advance from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in accordance with the law of gradually achieving specialization in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

Production must be arranged in a rational manner in accordance with the principle of combining agriculture, forestry and fishing with industry at the very outset, especially the processing industry, at each basic unit and in all regions (the lowlands, midlands, mountains and seacoast) with a view toward protecting the environment and creating the conditions needed to apply science and technology, especially technology that relates to tropical ecosystems, in production in order to develop diversified businesses and meet the wide-ranging needs of the people and society.

To achieve a combined strength, it is necessary to establish an economic structure that encompasses all segments of the economy that exist in the current stage. Of these segments, the state-operated economy must be strengthened so that it is strong enough to play the dominant role. It must also be closely tied to the collective economy and form a mechanism that has an effective impact upon the household economy and the private economy in the countryside so that the structure of the economy becomes rich and diverse and our economy consisting of many different segments becomes a unified economy that is developing in the direction of socialism. Facts have shown that this is an effective way to combine socialist transformation and socialist construction. In keeping with this approach, it is necessary in the years ahead to complete the campaign to bring the vast majority of farmers, fishermen and other persons working in the private economy in the countryside into collective production. However, this must be done in exact accordance with the principles of "voluntary association, democracy and mutual benefit." The most correct and effective measure to take is to concentrate our efforts on strengthening, fortifying and expanding the systems and networks of state-



operated economic organizations while creating the conditions needed for the collective economy to develop and employing the strength of economic ties between the state-operated economy and the collective economy for the purposes of utilizing and transforming the non-socialist segments of the economy. Drawing from the experience gained in past years, efforts to strengthen and perfect production relations must be simultaneously carried out in all three areas of these relations: the public ownership of the means of production, the relations among the various classes and strata and the distribution system based on the laws of socialism. In particular, it is necessary to research and adopt good state policies (that reflect the stand of the working class) concerning cooperatives and farmers because this is the most pressing problem we currently face.

In contrast to the management system based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, the management system based on economic accounting and socialist business practices requires that we adopt technical guidelines that are well suited to our economic conditions in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. These guidelines are: making the greatest possible use of biological strongpoints in a way that is compatible with the natural conditions of our country and closely combined with modern industrial technology; combining highly skilled manual labor with semi-mechanized labor; combining large, medium and small scales, with primary emphasis upon medium scale and small scale; combining, in a way that is well balanced, traditional techniques and achievements of modern science and technology (including the achievements of modern biology, industrial biology, genetics...). These are technical guidelines that are suited to our country and also very consistent with the ecological development strategy that is currently being successfully applied in agriculture by many countries.

To insure that the above points are implemented, it is necessary to dismantle the management system based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and quickly establish the new management system, a system with an appropriate mechanism capable of applying objective socio-economic laws in the present stage. In particular, importance must be attached to combining and applying, with the skill of an artist, the law of planned and balanced economic development, the law of value, the relationships between goods and money and the law of distribution in accordance with labor, which the final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers have begun to do.

Pham Van Nghien:

In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country, it is very necessary that we prepare the conditions needed for large-scale socialist industrialization. These conditions include a certain degree of economic development, the ability to accumulate capital from within the economy, the standard of living of the people and the qualifications of scientific-technical cadres, management cadres and skilled workers. In addition, from the standpoint of society, the proper style of work, the new way of life of the people and so forth also need to be molded because economic progress cannot be separated from social progress.

In terms of its scale, our country's economy is a system of small-scale production. In terms of its level of technical and industrial development, it is a backward system of production. A lack of coordination is also clearly evident within the economy. In addition, the slowness with which we have improved the management system to suit the characteristics of the economy in the initial stage have kept our economy in a vicious circle: low labor productivity--a small social product and low national income--little accumulated capital--a low level of investments--small material-technical bases--low labor productivity.

Under these exceedingly difficult and complex conditions, in order to quickly stabilize and partially improve the standard of living while accumulating the initial capital needed for industrialization, positive steps must be taken to combine internal factors with external factors. On the one hand, we must practice good international cooperation and make the most effective use possible of the assistance provided by the fraternal socialist countries so that we can overcome the domestic difficulties we face, establish independent, internal bases for social reproduction, reform our poor and backward national economy and create the exceedingly important sources of initial capital needed for long-range development. On the other hand, we cannot rely only upon the outside for sources of initial capital, rather, we must primarily mobilize and effectively develop internal potentials and make every effort to lay foundations within the national economy, within the various sectors of the economy.

As is the case with many other countries, our country's economy is an economy that has a dual structure, that is, existing side by side are a traditional system of production and a modern system of production, although not highly developed. This is clearly evident within industry, where the traditional sectors are small industry and the handicraft trades. Being appropriately concerned with and giving attention to the development of the traditional sectors of industry besides the modern industrial sectors and other sectors of the economy will create the conditions needed to stimulate the development of the national economy while laying the foundations for heavy machine production and make us better able to accumulate capital. In order to eventually establish close ties with the modern industrial sectors, small industry and the handicraft trades must also be modernized. Only in this way can small industry and the handicraft trades achieve higher labor productivity and acquire the conditions needed to establish economic ties with the other modern industrial sectors.

In view of our country's situation, both in the immediate future as well as over the long range, developing in conjunction with modernizing small industry and the handicraft trades are of strategic significance because they require little by way of investment capital yet enable us to utilize millions of laborers in the cities and countryside and produce many products for society, including export goods. The modernization of small industry and the handicraft trades must be based on the special characteristics of this sector, the use of manual labor in production, the production of one product at a time and the production of products that are generally not used in the sectors of modern industry. Consequently, it is necessary to mechanize an important portion of production by equipping with a number of truly necessary pieces of

equipment so that the small industry and handicraft sector becomes semi-mechanized. Products must be standardized (quality, size and so forth) so that the products of small industry and the handicraft trades can be used within the modern sectors of industry. Mass production must be organized with a view toward raising labor productivity. Production must be organized on the basis of the principles of modern production. Technology, industrial standards, products and product quality must constantly be improved.

The conditions needed to perform the above jobs are:

--Small industry and handicraft units can use the old equipment of factories that have installed new equipment, can repair liquidated machinery for their use, can use equipment that is in storage, etc.

--These units can use mainly locally available raw materials and supplies, the discarded materials and defective products of factories or imported raw materials and supplies if they produce high economic returns, particularly in the production of export goods.

--The sources of capital of these units consist of capital of the locality, capital mobilized among the people and capital borrowed from the bank;

--Each district needs to have a number of organizations staffed with technical cadres and management cadres to provide units with assistance in the areas of technology, industry and the organization of production.

Production must be organized on the basis of the principle of utilizing all persons and all raw materials and supplies that can be utilized and producing products at all places where there is a need for the goods being produced. If the development of small industry and the handicraft trades is widely carried out on the basis of these principles of modernization in each region of the country, in the cities as well as the countryside, the traditional industrial sector will become an important industrial sector, one that produces high economic returns. At the same time, it will familiarize millions of persons with machinery, with the new method of organizing production, with the industrial style. Along with modernization, it is necessary to organize decentralized industrial production within households. This, the organizing of production on an expanded scale, requires little investment capital, economizes on social expenditures (for child care centers, public health services and so forth) and enables us to utilize much surplus, idle manpower. To take this approach, it is necessary to enact a socio-economic program, solve the problems of raw materials and supplies, establish zones that attract persons to this work around factories that need to have components produced under contract, adopt incentive price policies, etc. For years now, some of our municipalities have been organizing the contract production of state store goods. However, work has been available at times but unavailable at other times and wages are very low. Generally speaking, this cannot be considered a system of household production.

One production model that has been implemented by many countries and which yields high returns is the establishment of close relations in production between large and small enterprises, primarily in the contract production of

components. The realities of production in other countries prove that large corporations cannot operate efficiently if their production is not tied to hundreds, even thousands of other large and small factories. In our country, this method of organizing production should be applied even in the initial stage in order to establish ties among production units and relations between large factories and small industry and handicraft units that have been modernized for the purpose of producing components and parts under contract that these factories are unable to produce or can only produce at high cost.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, p 464.

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## NORTHERN MOUNTAIN DISTRICTS CARRY OUT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHEN NATIONAL DEFENSE FORCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 71-75

[Article by Nhat Tan]

[Text] In recent years, economic development closely tied to strengthen the national defense system has truly become the central tasks of many northern mountain districts. Here, more than anywhere else, these two tasks are closely tied together in everyday life. The districts of Trang Dinh in Lang Son Province, Hoa An in Cao Bang Province, Meo Vac and Yen Ninh in Ha Tuyen Province, Quang Ha in Quang Ninh Province and others have established a good relationship between these two tasks and made significant strides from the standpoint of the economy as well as national defense and security. Local armed forces have become stronger with each battle, security has been maintained, the economy is developing and the standard of living is stable.

### Tasks Thoroughly Understood

The northern mountain districts occupy an important position in the economy as well as the national defense and security of the entire country. They account for 26.8 percent of the country's land. The rugged rows of mountains that stretch for 1,463 kilometers along the border with China were the scene of glorious battles in which our forefathers buried the aggressor forces of the northern feudal powers and were the solid revolutionary base in the sacred and victorious war of resistance against France. Today, the northern mountains and forests are the solid wall thwarting the war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. Many valuable natural resources are found only in the northern mountains and forests, such as various species of wood, flowers and fruit and special product crops of high economic value, which the feudalists and foreign imperialists once fought each other to control and are today being harvested, thus making important contributions to the development of the national economy. However, the northern mountain districts also face major difficulties. Many mountains and hills are barren. Forests cover only a little more than 10 percent of the region's hills and mountains. Despite this, the destruction of forests to make slash and burn fields continues. The labor force is small (2 million persons of the total population of 6 million persons are laborers) and is concentrated primarily along major roads and in

the valleys. Material bases are inadequate. Management, cultural and scientific-technical standards are low. The new production relations are not strong. There is an inadequate number of cadres and cadre skills are weak... In addition, the northern mountain districts must also contend with a very cunning enemy. Taking advantage of the fact that our mountains and rivers adjoin the mountains and rivers of China, the enemy routinely sends spies and commandoes into our country to commit sabotage against us and then withdraw. They release mines and psychological warfare goods in rivers and streams to be carried into our country. They have taken advantage of the naivete and gullibility of the persons living on either side of the border and the long standing family ties among these persons to win their allegiance, sow divisions, insert forces and conspire to sabotage us.

Since April 1984, the enemy has been waging a large-scale border war of encroachment and occupation, a war in which very violent developments have occurred. In many areas along and adjacent to the border, crop production is impossible because the ground has been torn up by Chinese artillery shells. At some places, the enemy has fired artillery shells roughly 10 kilometers into our territory. On some days, they have fired as many as 50,000 large artillery shells at one place to support infantry troops in attacks to expand their occupation. Heavy artillery attacks have been combined with furious attacks by battalion to regiment size infantry forces against our defense bases. Border districts such as Xin Man and Vi Xuyen in Ha Tuyen Province, Van Lang and Cao Loc in Lang Son Province, Muong Khuong in Hoang Lien Son Province and others have become the hot front in the fight being waged by the people of our entire country against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. While fighting the enemy for each bit of soil in order to defend the fatherland's frontier, the ethnic minorities have not once neglected production. Fighting while carrying out production are the daily tasks with which each citizen of the northern border districts is fully involved.

#### Good Efforts

In recent years, the various levels of the party and administration, together with the people of this region, have made many efforts to build their district into a solid fortress that is economically prosperous, strong in terms of national defense and pure from the standpoint of security.

At one time, many villages were situated right along the border. As a result, the enemy often took advantage of this situation to establish contacts, to insert spies and commandoes... Today, 453 villages have voluntarily relocated themselves in the rear. Recently, in coordination with planning production and the redistribution of labor, districts have relocated an additional 255 villages, resettling their inhabitants amongst their fellow countrymen in the rear and creating the conditions for them to resume production and stabilize their lives. Together with this work, the districts have conducted basic investigations, rechecked census and household registrations in areas along the border and taken action in cases involving persons and families residing illegally along the border, thereby purifying combat areas and thwarting attempts by the enemy to link up with persons in our country and insert spies and commandoes. In particular, many districts, drawing upon experience gained in combat and production, have intensified the efforts to build the

battlefield deployment of the local people's war. In this effort, importance has been attached to strengthening the border defense villages, the border belt, combat zones, combat villages, road networks, information and liaison systems, the public health network, the network of storehouses... The troop strength and quality of combat alert militia units have been constantly maintained. Specialized organizations, such as special operations troops, engineers and sniper units, have been appropriately equipped and trained and stand combat alert duty on a rotating basis so that they can familiarize themselves with each terrain and participate in production.

The local troops of the border districts now include properly equipped battalions. These forces, together with the militia, have truly become a large, reliable army with high fighting strength. Between March 1979 and December 1984, the local armed forces and people of the districts killed 2,000 enemy commandoes and spies, uncovered many agents inserted by the enemy in 145 villages in and adjacent to border areas and apprehended 473 persons in 100 cases involving illegal border crossings, thereby providing the people with the security needed to engage in production.

The districts have begun to correctly evaluate and effectively develop the potentials and strengths of the mountain region, namely, forestry, the production of perennial industrial crops and the raising of the species of large livestock. They have intensified work on their master plans, which are oriented toward the development of a rational economic structure of various types: agro-forestry-industrial, forestry-agricultural-industrial or agro-forestry-fishing-industrial. They have also carried out the assignment of land and forests to individuals, collectives and troops to insure that someone is in charge of every piece of land. To date, hundreds of kilometers of border have been enclosed with thick rows of rattan and bamboo, which serve as a barrier to aggression by the Chinese reactionaries and provide valuable materials for use in the production of handicraft art products for exportation. Appropriate attention has been given to the production of many species of industrial crops of high value. The districts of Lai Chau Province have planned the planting of 200,000 hectares of t'ung trees. Thach Anh District in Cao Bang Province and Trang Dinh District in Lang Son Province have planted from 10,000 to 20,000 hectares of T'ung trees. Van Chan District in Hoang Lien Son Province has planted 7,500 hectares of tea. Dai Tu District in Bac Thai Province has planted 5,000 hectares of tea. Van Chan, Trang Dinh, Quang Hoa and other districts have planned the planting of 1,000 to 2,000 hectares of cinnamon and anise.

Besides the development of forestry, industrial crop production and livestock production, the districts have given very much attention to the intensive cultivation of rice and subsidiary food crops in order to partially resolve the grain problem, which has always posed a very large difficulty. Meo Vac District in Ha Tuyen Province has filled rock crevices with dirt in order to practice the intensive cultivation of corn, as a result of which corn yields have risen from 9.5 quintals per hectare to 11 quintals per hectare in 1984. Average rice yields in the border districts, which were once no higher than 1.5-1.8 tons per hectare, have now reached 2 tons per hectare, with some

places producing yields of 4 tons per hectare. The cooperatives in Hoa An District in Cao Bang Province and Van Chan District in Hoang Lien Son Province have recorded average yields of 8 tons per hectare.

Deserving of attention is the fact that many districts have recently begun to closely tie production to distribution-circulation and attach importance to export goods in order to generate revenues with which to stabilize district budgets. They have also done a better job of resolving a number of important problems, such as the problems of labor, grain and capital, of expanding economic ties and joint businesses, of raising the standards of cadres and improving their ability to lead and organize implementation...

In view of the difficult conditions that existed following the 1979 border war, during which many places were completely destroyed by the Chinese aggressors, and in view of the need to contend with their war of encroachment and occupation and wide-ranging war of sabotage, the above mentioned achievements represent a major effort by the armed forces and people of the northern mountain districts and are of very important significance. However, there are still jobs that have not been performed. The districts are trying to move forward and successfully carry out these jobs, especially those that are closely related to both combat and production.

#### Good Lessons

From the jobs that they have performed and those that they have not, the northern mountain districts have learned many valuable lessons concerning how to carry out the two tasks of developing the economy and strengthening the national defense system.

First, they have learned to display self-reliance and not use their difficult circumstances as an excuse or rely upon aid and assistance from the central level and the localities in the rear. In this spirit, the armed forces of many districts have fought the enemy despite losing communications with the upper echelon and developed their battle positions in both breadth and depth, thereby making it possible for main force troops to wipe out the enemy. In some districts, local armed forces, without the support of main force troops or border defense troops, have defeated attacks by enemy divisions since April 1984. The districts have constructed the majority of the projects at bases and the majority of the road network on their own. Since 1980, the border districts have mobilized more than 1 million mandays for this work. If assigned to specialized corvee labor forces, many projects and road sections would have taken years to complete. However, as a result of assigning this work to districts and villages, the districts and villages have been able to mobilize every available force and work night and day, completing construction jobs in the space of only a few months, sometimes in only a few weeks. Entire villages engaged in the construction of communications projects are a new form of organization that has emerged in many districts. Using the labor and tools of each family, these villages work under contracts and perform their work at any time of day. As a result, work is performed quickly and the quality of work is good.



While fighting the enemy, the people have steadfastly remained in their villages to produce, carry out intensive cultivation, resolve the grain problem and provide local rear service support, thereby reducing the amount of support needed from the rear. The slogan of Meo Vac District in Ha Tuyen Province is to move forward on the basis of its labor and rocky mountains. The total grain output, in paddy equivalent, of the northern mountain districts has risen in each of the past 5 years: from 7,490 tons in 1981 to 9,272 tons in 1984. Per capita grain output now stands at 300 kilograms per year. To solve the clothing problem, the districts have encouraged the people to plant ramie and cotton and weave cloth. Through this approach, 50 percent of the clothing needs of the ethnic minorities has been met.

Secondly, the northern mountain districts have learned how to apply the combined strength of each force and solve many problems under especially difficult conditions. Practically all districts have established good relations between the people on the frontline and the people in the rear, between the people and the armed forces stationed within the district, thereby achieving close coordination. When the people's armed forces are fighting the enemy on the frontline, their fellow countrymen in the rear resupply them, receive the wounded and provide food and shelter for persons evacuated from the front. The people wholeheartedly love and assist troops, considering them to be their own sons. Troops respect the people and are ready to sacrifice their lives to protect the life and property of the people. Troops and the people support each other in both production and combat. At many places, the people have established ties with troops in production and combat. For example, in Trang Dinh District in Lang Son Province, the district prepares the soil and provides seed, fertilizer and pesticide while troops cultivate, protect and harvest crops. In Binh Lieu District in Quang Ninh Province, troops have constructed 150 kilometers of roads. Had this work been left up to the locality to perform in accordance with its master plan, it would not have been completed until 1995. Some districts have assigned land and forests to troops and coordinate with troops in the construction of roads, hydroelectric power plants and so forth. As a result of the assistance provided by troops, some districts, once weak and deficient, have strengthened their party organizations, their mass organizations, their militia and self-defense forces... Conversely, as a result of the people's readiness to provide them with support and supplies, newly arrived troops have been able to immediately go into combat against the enemy under difficult circumstances. The people (including the mass organizations) have contributed bamboo, wood and manpower to troops for the construction of trenches. They have also contributed rice, meat, vegetables, firewood, including bags of cooked rice and bags of sticky rice so that troops can make their own dried provisions. The people of Ha Tuyen Province have constructed 156 kilometers of roads that accommodate motor vehicles to bases; constructed very many combat trenches and iron bed frames; made several thousand sleeping mats; installed dozens of kilometers of water mains; planted 500 hectares of forests to supply fuel to troops... Dai Tu District in Bac Thai Province regularly has 10 tons of rice, 1 ton of pork, live weight, and 1 million dong on hand to assist troops when fighting breaks out...

These are efforts that vividly reflect the close relationship between the armed forces and the people, reflect the combined strength brought to the defense of the fatherland's border by the forces of the district and province.

Thirdly, they have rapidly built a corps of cadres capable of completing the tasks of the locality. The districts have correctly implemented the policies and lines of the party, taken the initiative in dealing with each situation that has arisen and won victory. These are the results of the districts quickly taking measures based on the experience gained in the fight against the war of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists in February 1979 to improve the skills and qualities of their corps of cadres. Many districts have increased the number of short-term training classes in positions, policies and systems for cadres from the production unit level to the various levels of the party and administration. In particular, importance has been attached to drawing experience from combat and production; promptly finding ways to deal with the enemy and developing appropriate work methods; and boldly assigning jobs to cadres while closely inspecting cadres. As a result, in the recent past, although the number of cadres is still inadequate and their skills are still weak compared to requirements, the corps of cadres of the northern mountain districts have taken a rather large stride forward. This has also been an important factor in the success achieved by many places in launching spirited mass movements to implement the positions and policies of the party and state.

The achievements in economic development and the strengthening of the national defense system presented above are, above everything else, the result of the steadfast efforts and hard work of the party organization, armed forces and people of the northern mountain districts. These achievements would have been impossible without the close guidance provided by the central level and the concern and active assistance of the rear area. The central level and the people of our entire country are very concerned with assisting the northern mountain districts in every way. The state has given the northern mountain districts preferences under the cadre policy, the nationalities policy, the grain policy, the distribution policy...and allocated large funds from the budget for investment in these districts. The armed forces and people of the northern mountain districts attach very much importance to and are inspired by this concern and assistance. They have displayed an increasing spirit of self-reliance in order to be able to make the best possible use of the guidance provided by the central level and the most effective use possible of the assistance provided by the rear area. The people of the provinces in the rear have spared no effort and are ready to contribute to the mountain districts everything they might need, including sending their beloved sons to build the mountain economy and bear arms in the defense of the fatherland's border. Between March 1979 and May 1979 alone, the provinces in the rear mobilized 250,000 laborers to dig fortifications and build battle positions on the frontline and in adjacent areas. They constructed 4,000 kilometers of communications trenches, dug more than 2 million foxholes, dug nearly 60,000 trenches, built tens of thousands of combat fortifications, etc.

The northern mountain districts continue to face many difficulties. Despite being defeated on several different occasions, the Chinese reactionaries continue to carry out schemes and acts of encroachment, occupation and

sabotage against the areas along our country's northern border. The tasks of stepping up production and insuring victory in combat demand that the northern mountain districts continue to overcome their difficulties and move steadily forward.

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## PHUC THO BUILDS A SOLID AND STRONG DISTRICT PARTY ORGANIZATION

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[Article by Hoang Thanh Can, secretary of the Phuc Tho District Party Committee]

[Text] Once a district of Ha Son Binh Province, Phuc Tho was merged with Hanoi in June 1979. The district measures 11,348 hectares, 7,000 hectares of which are farmland. The district consists of two distinct economic zones: the flood plain zone and the field zone.

The district consists of 22 villages and has a population of nearly 120,000, some 50,000 of whom are laborers, namely agricultural laborers.

The Phuc Tho party organization consists of 73 basic organizations of the party with 4,040 members.

During the past 6 years, under the leadership of the party, most directly the leadership of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee, the Phuc Tho party organization has gradually correctly applied the positions and policies of the upper levels to the circumstances of the locality and developed ways to slowly overcome its difficulties and steadily improve the once weak production and movements of the district.

Phuc Tho District has been awarded the Labor Order 3rd Class (1981), the Military Exploit Order 3rd Class (1984) and the Military Exploit Order 1st Class (1985) by the Council of State for achievements in production, security and national defense.

In a manner closely linked to the progress made by the district, our district party organization has gradually grown and matured. The Party Secretariat awarded it the "Solid and Strong District Party Organization" banner in 1980-1981. On 10 November 1982, our district had the great honor of welcoming General Secretary Le Duan on a visit.

Looking back, we have drawn, on a preliminary basis, the following experiences concerning our struggle to become a solid and strong district party organization:

First, as regards leading the performance of political tasks, the district party committee has set correct production guidelines and mapped out appropriate steps to be taken.

Ours being a district that once was primarily engaged in the monoculture of grain, a district where the average amount of farmland per capita is less than 600 square meters and a district that had no traditional trades, the district party committee adopted the following policy: making every effort to develop a diversified agriculture, with grain production being considered the central element of this agriculture, while attaching importance to increasing the production of industrial crops and livestock, taking positive steps to build and expand the trade sector and gradually building local industry with a view toward building an agro-industrial economic structure within the district.

The district party committee has attached importance to guiding all aspects of production and developing each aspect of production in a well coordinated manner. However, during each period, it has concentrated on guiding the performance of each central task. For example, in 1981-1982, we focused our efforts on bringing about a major change in grain production. In 1983, our efforts were concentrated on stepping up livestock production. In 1984, efforts were devoted to strongly developing the trades.

To implement the above policy, the district party committee has guided, in close detail, the conduct of basic investigations and surveys, the formulation of the master plan and the development of the economy within the district. Specifically:

In crop production, we have established specialized farming areas and areas devoted to intensive cultivation with the aim of eliminating the practice of monoculture: 8,700 hectares of rice, 1,500 hectares of corn, 1,000 hectares of soybeans, 500-700 hectares of potatoes, 250-400 hectares of sugarcane, 500 hectares of vegetables and an additional 350 hectares of peanuts.

In livestock production, we have developed the buffalo and cattle herds and maintained an average of one buffalo or head of cattle per hectare of land under cultivation. We have increased the production of hogs, especially within the household sector, and strengthened and expanded hog production within the collective sector. We have encouraged the raising of poultry and initiated pisciculture wherever possible.

In industrial production, the district has established and developed the trade sector at agricultural cooperatives with a view toward developing at each cooperative a structure of production that is specialized and also includes a general business that encompasses both agricultural production and a business in the trade sector. At the same time, we have established a number of district production and service organizations of an industrial nature.

We consider seed and fertilizer in crop production and breeding stock in livestock production to be the areas in which breakthroughs must be made to achieve higher yields. Of course, light attention cannot be given to the other areas of crop and livestock production. The district party committee has guided the establishment of a level II seed production unit on the

district level and level III seed production units at cooperatives. By the end of 1982, we had virtually completed the seed and breeding stock selection system. Currently in use are good varieties and breeds that produce high and rather stable yields, such as rice varieties NN8 and CR203; corn variety VM1; soybean varieties V74 and DH4; Great White-Mong Khai crossbred hogs... The district party committee has also guided the production of fertilizer and created sources of fertilizer by three different methods: stepping up livestock production in order to provide sources of livestock manure; planting legumes and peanuts as companion crops during the two rice seasons in order to improve the soil; and balancing the supply of grain on our own in order to trade some grain for chemical fertilizer.

The district party committee has also closely guided the work of improving our organization and putting the new management system into practice. The size of the district's 22 cooperatives has been stabilized. We have established more than 300 basic production units, considering this to be the main form in the organization of labor at cooperatives. We have balanced the labor force and shifted more than 4,000 surplus agricultural laborers to jobs in the different trades. On this basis, we have adjusted production guidelines, combined agriculture with the trade sectors, production with processing and distribution-circulation and closely coordinated the various segments of the economy. We have attached importance to building material-technical bases and creating the conditions needed for cooperatives to undertake the "five jobs" that are theirs under the new contract system. We have quickly introduced technical advances in production by organizing units specializing in seed, fertilizer, crop protection and so forth. At the same time, the district party committee has been guiding planning at basic units, that is, guiding the formulation of production, finance, distribution and product contract plans to insure that the interests and responsibilities of management cadres from the production unit level upward in the management of production and distribution are closely linked to the final product produced by cooperative members who accept contracts and to the percentage of the production-business plan completed by the cooperative.

We have also attached importance to expanding the establishment of economic ties and joint businesses; to creating the conditions for research agencies and scientists to have a direct impact upon basic units; to expanding the economic ties with agencies, enterprises and so forth.

As a result of adopting correct policies and mapping out suitable steps to be taken, our district has begun to record a number of achievements. Crop and livestock yields have risen rather rapidly and are stable. The district has become the key area of the municipality in the intensive cultivation of rice. In 1984, the district recorded an average rice yield of 80.2 quintals per hectare, a 72 percent increase over 1980. The corn yield reached 29.3 quintals per hectare, a 150 percent increase compared to 1980. Total grain output, in paddy equivalent, was nearly 40,000 tons, a 76.3 percent increase over 1980. During the 1985 spring season, the district recorded an average rice yield of 50.04 quintals per hectare and an average corn yield of 38.86 quintals per hectare. Per capita grain production increased from 246 kilograms in 1980 to 358 kilogram in 1984. In livestock production, the district had 5,855 buffalo and head of cattle in 1984; the hog herd numbered

30,192 hogs, a 9 percent increase over 1982, with collective hog herds numbering 2,783 hogs, a 21 percent increase. In 1984, in fulfillment of its obligations, Phuc Tho contributed to the state 7,029 tons of paddy, 2.5 times more than in 1980, and 802 tons of pork, live weight, a 78.7 percent increase compared to 1980. In addition, the district also sold 1,500 tons of green vegetables, 6,000 tons of sugarcane, 120 tons of soybeans, 50 tons of green beans...to the municipality in 1984. The value of the district's small industry and handicraft output, once very small, reached 36 million dong in 1984, a 49 percent increase over 1980, and accounted for 18 percent of the value of the district's total output. An agro-industrial economic structure has begun to take shape within the district.

Secondly, we have made the basic organizations of the party solid, strong and pure and increased the fighting strength of the corps of party members.

At one time, nearly 60 percent of the basic party organizations and cooperatives in Phuc Tho were weak and deficient, many difficulties were being encountered in production, some cadres and party members had become degenerate, thus reducing our fighting strength. In the face of this situation, the district party committee clearly defined the issue being faced: importance had to be attached to uniformly upgrading all basic organizations, with special attention to party chapters and to improving the quality of the corps of party members, considering this to be the basic theme and measure in building the district party organization.

To begin with, the district party committee closely guided the reappraisal and classification of basic organizations so that appropriate measures could be adopted to strengthen them.

As regards weak and deficient basic organizations, we studied and analyzed each case, correctly determined causes and strengthened these chapters in every respect. The district selected the basic organization that was experiencing the most difficulties at which to conduct a pilot project and gain experience for guiding the effort to strengthen the other basic organizations. The approach that we have taken concerning each type has been: at basic organizations that were weak and deficient because the qualities and skills of their key cadres were weak, we have provided additional training and enhanced their qualities and skills or replaced these cadres; at basic organizations that were weak and deficient because of difficulties being encountered in production, we have tried to provide them with investments and assistance so that they can move forward.

As regards above average party organizations, the district party committee has actively provided them with training and created the conditions for them to improve themselves and meet the standard of a solid and strong party organization. Each year, the district party committee appraises party organizations so that it can nominate party organizations for recognition as a "solid, strong and pure party organization" by the municipal party committee. It also appraises those units that earn and retain this title. To insure that its appraisals and nominations are accurate, the district party committee convenes area or district-wide conferences at which, through democratic discussion, each unit classifies itself and other units offer their

observations and then cast a vote of confidence. This approach not only gives units a full understanding of standards, but also generates an intense atmosphere of emulating and learning from one another. As a result, the movement to become a solid, strong and pure party organization in Phuc Tho is quite strong. In 1983, 54 percent of the basic party organizations in the district met the standards for being recognized as solid, strong and pure party organizations. In 1984, 61 percent of the basic organizations of the party earned this title. During the first 6 months of 1985, 67 percent did. Not one basic party organization is weak and deficient. Eleven basic organizations have been awarded the "solid, strong and pure party organization" banner by the municipal party committee, six of which are units that have received this banner twice.

In the process of strengthening basic units, the focus of our efforts has been to strengthen the party chapters and improve the quality of party members. To insure that the party chapters have the ability to lead and possess the necessary fighting strength, the district party committee has strengthened the organization of the more than 400 party chapters and reassigned the corps of party chapter secretaries, with importance attached to improving the quality of party chapter activities, especially those of the nearly 300 party chapters that directly lead production units. The district sets the themes of party chapter activities, determines how frequently party chapter activities should be held and schedules when reports must be submitted to the party committee on the upper level. The district also guides the party chapters in assigning tasks to party members in order to insure that each party member undertakes a task based on his abilities and conditions in every field, from leadership and management to family life. At the same time, we have directed the attention of the party chapters to intensifying their inspection and management of party members, soliciting and listening to the observations and criticisms of the masses and attaching importance to training and accepting new persons into the party while expelling unqualified members from the party.

During the past several years, the quality of party chapters and the quality of the corps of party members have been constantly raised. In 1983, 98 percent of party members were found to be fully qualified and received party membership cards. In 1984, 98.5 percent of party members were found to be fully qualified, 70 percent of whom met the standards of exemplary, vanguard party members. In the 2 years 1983 and 1984, party chapters accepted 230 persons into the party, nearly twice as many as were accepted during the preceding 2 years. More than 200 party members have attended political training classes and 800 outstanding Youth Union members have attended classes to learn about the party.

Thirdly, we have trained and assigned cadres in accordance with cadre planning.

During the past several years, our district party committee has worked hard formulating cadre planning that is well suited to each area and each basic unit. We have adopted plans for the training and assignment of cadres that are designed to build a corps of cadres who possess the skills and qualities needed to lead the performance of each political task within the locality.



On the basis of this planning, the district party committee has sent key cadres from the district to the village level and reserve cadres to schools of the central level and the municipality. Other cadres have attended schools of the district or in the villages. The district party committee has given its attention to provided village cadres who attend school with an appropriate allowance during the time they spend at school.

The district party committee has also held economic leadership and management training classes for nearly 300 party chapter secretaries and production unit chiefs. It has organized supplementary education for hundreds of cadres and party members. Twenty-nine comrades have attended schools of the central level and municipality. Besides classroom training, we also consider it important to train cadres by giving them practical experience in organizing the implementation of each specific policy. On the other hand, we have prepared the conditions needed to make cadre assignments in accordance with our cadre planning. For example, reserve party committee secretaries serve for awhile as the director of a cooperative, reserve cooperative directors must serve for a certain period of time in the command section of a production unit, etc.

During the past several years, we have taken determined steps to reassign key cadres who show few prospects or whose skills are not well suited to their job. We have boldly improved the division of labor and replaced old, frail and incompetent cadres with young, able-bodied cadres who have been trained and challenged, thus reducing the average age of the district's cadres from 50 to 38, 23 percent of whom are women.

Fourthly, we have upheld the right of ownership of the laboring people and made the administration and mass organizations more effective.

Facts have shown that in order to overcome difficulties, develop production, stabilize the standard of living and advance the movements of the district, it is absolutely necessary to uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and make the administration and mass organizations more effective. Our district party committee considers these to be important factors in insuring the successful implementation of the positions of the party and the policies of the state. We have constantly concerned ourselves with teaching politics and ideology to the people with the aims of cultivating the sense of ownership and the spirit of enthusiasm for productive labor in everyone while building a new life and the new countryside. In particular, because of our locality's specific circumstances, we have given attention to cultivating in the masses the spirit of self-reliance and the determination to overcome each difficulty being faced in order to complete the task at hand. We have also given our attention to correcting the thinking of waiting for and relying upon others and to eliminating superstitious practices.

We have made efforts to launch mass movements to implement the policies of the district party committee and have closely linked political and ideological education to organizing specific activities that provide practical support of efforts to achieve our objectives and carry out our central tasks during each period of time. For example, we launched the movement to use new varieties and breeds in crop and livestock production, the movement to use phosphate

fertilizer and lime to improve the soil, the movement to apply new techniques in production... The people have also actively participated in the movement to build the new countryside, establish a civilized way of life and build families of the new culture, the planned parenthood movement and the movement to maintain order and security. Our district has been recognized by Hanoi as a unit that has a good emulation movement. The district party committee has also led the basic organizations of the party in encouraging and organizing the masses in helping to build the party and build the administration through a wide variety of interesting approaches. Through propaganda, by building clubs at basic units and village libraries, by organizing literature and art festivals...villages have created additional learning, recreational and entertainment opportunities for the masses and cultivated the atmosphere of wholesome collective activities among the people.

Together with upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, our district has concerned itself with strengthening the administration and the mass organizations. In our effort to strengthen the agencies of the administration, we have given special attention to strengthening the people's committees on the village and district levels and making the offices and sections of the district level as well as the corporations, stations and farms under district management stronger and to emphasizing the staff role played by the various offices and sections. We consider planning important in improving the management skills of the administration and have tried to gradually eliminate the bureaucracy, the detachment from the realities of production found within the offices and sections. In our effort to strengthen the mass organizations, our policy has been to strengthen the leadership of the Youth Union, the trade unions and the Women's Union, restructure their organizations, reassign their cadres and appoint a number of experienced cadres to leadership agencies in order to make them stronger. At the same time, we have clearly defined the themes and guidelines regarding the activities of these organizations. We require that the Youth Union fulfill its assault role on the productive labor front and take the lead in new, difficult jobs, especially in the field of science and technology. The Women's Union must do a good job of agitating among women to participate in social work, step up production, concern themselves with building families of the new culture, raise obedient, healthy children, practice planned parenthood... The Fatherland Front must mobilize all strata of the people to enthusiastically emulate one another in purchasing bonds, depositing money in savings accounts, establishing Uncle Ho fruit orchards, etc. The administration and the mass organizations must coordinate their activities and focus their efforts on tasks of central importance or emergency tasks. The experience of our district has shown that in order to uphold the right of ownership of the masses and launch mass movements in the current stage, attention must be given to combining psychological motivation with material incentives and truly caring for the standard of living of the laborer. Ideological education must be combined with enacting regulations and working in accordance with regulations.

Fifthly, we have improved the leadership and guidance provided by the district party committee.

Drawing experience from previous years, our district party committee has tried to gradually improve its work methods and improve its mode of leadership and guidance under the guidelines of combining efforts to tap the intelligence of the collective with increasing the responsibility of the individual; combining displaying the spirit of unity and determination, the spirit of daring to think, act and assume responsibility on the part of the collective of the district party committee with seeking the assistance of the upper levels; and combining centralized, unified guidance by the district party committee with tapping the dynamism and creativity of the basic units and strongly orienting our efforts toward the basic units.

In the formulation of policies and plans, we have assigned the specialized sections and sectors as well as the various staff agencies the task of making preparations. On the other hand, we have requested that related sectors and sections actively contribute their opinions. The district party committee requests that the heads of the various sectors offer their opinions, especially regarding ways to organize implementation, while sending cadres to basic units to listen to the opinions of the masses and cadres. As a result, the cadres, party members and masses within the district endorse and have made every effort to implement the policies and plans of the district.

As regards organizing the implementation of its policies and plans, the district party committee requires that agencies, units and sectors stick to their central task, focus their efforts on thoroughly completing their work and stop "overestimating what has to be done" and "leaving work unfinished." We have assigned specific responsibilities to cadres, especially those in charge of the key clusters, areas and basic units, under the guidelines of maintaining close contact with basic units and the masses and providing detailed, close guidance backed by supervision and inspections, by conducting pilot projects, building model units, conducting preliminary and final reviews and gaining experience. The district party committee has given its attention to teaching, encouraging and creating the conditions for the cadres working on the district level and at basic units to put the guidelines "skilled in all trades" and "advancing on all fronts" into practice. It encourages cadres to display dynamism, initiative and creativity in their work.

In particular, we are very concerned with building unity within the district party committee and making this unity stronger. We require that all members of the district party committee be united, united in will and action, and that they turn the policies of the district party committee into the thinking, feelings and strength of the entire party organization.

However, in the process of struggle and growth, our district party committee, besides its strongpoints and achievements, has also displayed many shortcomings and encountered many difficulties. The overriding difficulty is that the standards and skills of our district's cadres do not meet the requirements of our new tasks. The leadership of production units by party chapters is still marked by confusion. We have been slow to correct the lack of balance between agriculture and industry, between crop production and livestock production.

Under the light of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee and under the direct leadership of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee, Phuc Tho District is overcoming its difficulties, determined to effectively improve the economic management system, eliminate management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices, thereby creating the conditions for making Phuc Tho a prosperous and strong district at the western gateway to the capital Hanoi.

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## VIETNAM'S PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE POSSIBILITIES FOR AT-HOME HEALTH MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 82-85, 75

[Article by Nguyen Khac Thuat]

[Text] "Good health for everyone by the year 2000," this is the lofty goal and the slogan of action of the World Health Organization. The Alma Ata Declaration (1978) placed special emphasis upon the need to popularize basic health care. This is not simply a matter of providing medical treatment, but also entails a series of tasks in the nature of preventive medicine, tasks related to immunizing the masses through programs in the fields of environmental hygiene, nutritional hygiene, personal hygiene, the protection of mothers and children...

In many capitalist countries, where such ills as unemployment, prostitution, malnutrition among the poor and so forth are widespread, good health is still the special right of only a few wealthy strata of the population. In the developing countries, the majority of which are newly liberated colonies, the problems faced are very serious: many countries are engulfed in hunger, poverty and disease and there are shortages of medical facilities, public health personnel and medicine. How can they achieve "good health for everyone by the year 2000"? This question also faces our country, a country that has chosen the path of advancing to socialism by bypassing the stage of capitalist development and is now building the material-technical bases of socialism. Can Vietnam achieve "good health for everyone by the year 2000"?

Following the victory of the national liberation revolution, our people turned their hands to socialist construction and have recorded many important achievements. One of our foremost achievements has been the establishment of a widespread public health network, one that extends all the way to remote villages. At first glance, there appears to be a lack of balance between the development of public health and the development of the economy. In the experience of many countries, the economy usually develops first and creates the conditions for the public health sector to achieve a corresponding level of development. However, the revolutionary state of Vietnam raised the issue in a different way: the public health sector can and must be developed first in order to give impetus to the cause of building and defending the fatherland. Maintaining and improving the health of the people plays a major role in stimulating the development of production. On the other hand, the

continuous state of war against foreign aggressors also demanded a public health system commensurate with the tasks being confronted if we were to build the powerful army and solid rear area needed to fight for many years and win victory over the enemy.

Facts have proven the choice that we made to be correct. Vietnam has built a reliable public health apparatus with a powerful corps of skilled personnel and increasingly developed material-technical bases. Even during the worst years of the war, everyone who was injured, ill, in childbirth and so forth received medical care and hardly any significant epidemics broke out. Many dangerous diseases, such as cholera, smallpox, polio and so forth, have been stopped. Common social diseases, such as malaria, conjunctivitis, venereal disease and so forth, are being eliminated. Visible inroads have been made against infectious diseases. The environment and the health of the people, especially in the countryside, have changed markedly compared to several decades ago.

However, Vietnam's public health sector has been and is encountering major difficulties: a shortage of medicine and a shortage of beds, which are mainly due to the steady and rapid rise in the public health needs of the people in terms of both quantity and quality. Each year, the population grows by more than 1 million. Years ago, the average citizen rarely sought a physician when ill. They collected stems and leaves of medicinal plants around their homes and treated themselves. In cases of serious illness, they prayed, and if "god called them," then such was their fate(!). Now that we have a widespread public health network and convenient public health services, the average citizen knows that he must receive medical treatment when ill and that he has a right to medical treatment, a right to preventive medicine, a right to health care.

Thus, what must we do to achieve "good health for everyone by the year 2000" in Vietnam? We cannot immediately build a developed pharmaceutical industry nor can we significantly increase the number of beds, that is, significantly increase the personnel force, equipment base or management budget of medical facilities. In view of the fact that the current public health budget exceeds the capabilities of our country's economy, there is no simple answer to this question. It was under these difficult circumstances that the leadership of the Ung Hoa District Public Health Office in Ha Son Binh Province, together with the physicians of the Van Dinh Hospital, introduced the "health management, medical examinations and medical treat at home" initiative.

Medical examinations and treatment in the home are not new in the developed countries. However, they require a large number of doctors. Moreover, this is not only a matter of providing medical treatment, but also preventing illness and not for just a number of families, but for all families, "for everyone." Therefore, the model applied in the developed countries cannot be applied in Vietnam.

In Vietnam, a different model is needed.

The proponents of the "Van Dinh initiative" call for the improvement of the public health organization on the village level. They consider the village public health station-maternity clinic to be the center that directs each public health activity on the basic level, a center that extends into each family, the family being the cell of society. They have established volunteer public health units, one for every 1,000 persons. In charge of each is one physician and two nurses. Each family appoints one person to join the Red Cross. These persons become the base of the volunteer unit. These Red Cross members are usually local youths who have graduated from basic general school and possess some knowledge of culture and hygiene. The Red Cross holds intensive training classes lasting about 7 nights to give these members a simple, clear understanding of what they must do in the fields of preventive medicine and medical treatment. These Red Cross members then supervise their families in observing the rules of good hygiene, going to receive vaccinations on schedule, raising common medicinal herbs, detecting illnesses early and promptly notifying the volunteer unit when someone within the household is sick so that it can come and coordinate with the family in caring for this person at home before the illness becomes serious. Only when the illness is too serious to be treated at home is the patient sent to the village public health station. There, too, the patient is only sent to the next level of medical care in appropriate cases.

To assist the basic units in systematically keeping track of every aspect of the health of each person within the volunteer unit, the district public health apparatus, with the assistance of village physicians, has conducted a general medical examination campaign and made up a health record for each individual (which includes an immunization record) and a folder for each family to hold the health record of each family member. Each family has been given a number. This number has been recorded on the family health file and the village's public health map. The entire health file of the family is kept at the village public health station. Each day, the physicians of the volunteer units change shifts and consult with one another at the public health station in order to keep abreast of changes in the public health situation within their units. Thus, it is only through the village public health station that one can learn how many patients are receiving treatment at home each day and what the illness, age, occupation, sex and so forth of the patient are. As a result of this method of organization, the Ung Hoa District public health system, which cares for 150,000 persons in 27,000 households, consists of: the 150 bed Van Dinh General Hospital; village public health stations with 300 beds; and 27,000 "potential beds" in the households. Thus, the bed problem has been solved. As a result of taking the initiative in developing sources of folk medicine, the district is virtually self-sufficient in drugs for such common ailments as coughing, influenza, diarrhea, etc. On the district public health line as well as at village public health stations and many households, 25 to 35 different species of medicinal plants are being raised in gardens. At all basic public health units within the district there are cadres who specialize in the procurement, processing and storage of drugs.

Health management, physical examinations and medical treatment at home have benefitted the people in practical ways, especially when someone in the family is ill. In view of the fact that public services (transportation, public food services, support networks and so forth) are still underdeveloped and pose

many difficulties, this method of health management enables families in which persons are ill to avoid unnecessarily spreading the disease, is less costly and does not waste manpower. From the standpoint of public health facilities, it helps to avoid patient backlogs. Because illness is detected early, it is no longer necessary to perform surgery for appendicitis, perforated ulcers and so forth. Chronically ill persons receive periodic visits, examinations, instructions and care, along with their families, from their physician just as though they were in the hospital.

To do a good job of providing at-home health management, the public health sector must keep abreast of the health of each person, adopt a specific plan for preventing illness and treating illness as soon as it occurs, take the initiative in eliminating many common illnesses, reduce the number of patients entering medical facilities and reduce state budget expenditures. During the past 10 years, chiefly as a result of organizing health management, medical examinations and medical treatment at home well, the Van Dinh Hospital has completely avoided having to place two patients in the same bed, even during peak periods. The support provided to patients and even their relatives has also been quite thorough. The realities of "at-home health management, medical examinations and medical treatment" in Ung Hoa District during the past 10 years permit us to reach the conclusion that this approach can be universally applied in our country. Because, we have established a widespread and complete public health network that extends from the central all the way down to the basic levels and is based on a clear division of management responsibilities. This is the basic and most important prerequisite to achieving "good health for everyone by the year 2000." We have the basic public health line (the village and equivalent units) on which there is a public health-maternity station. This line, which has the dual task of practicing preventive medicine and providing medical treatment, is capable of administering preliminary emergency care, maintaining rural hygiene and stopping epidemics. The district line, which has the responsibility of guiding and assisting the village line, has a more complex organization, the purpose of which is to specialize in preventive medicine and medical treatment. Within each district are one or many general hospitals with 100 to 150 beds that are capable of average medical intervention and one epidemiological hygiene unit, which serves a "tactical" function. The provincial line is the line that guides and directly assists the district line. The public health network on the provincial level has developed into two complete systems: the medical treatment system, which is capable of major medical intervention and consists of one, two or even three general hospitals with 300 to 500 beds and a number of specialized hospitals; and the preventive medicine system, which consists of many specialized stations and is equipped with what it needs to perform tactical tasks. The central line consists of a general and specialized system of medical treatment capable of a high degree of medical intervention, a preventive medicine system that is fully capable of performing strategic tasks on a nationwide scale and a system of scientific research institutes. To maintain the operation of this network, there are also a system of central and local pharmaceutical enterprises with many vaccine production facilities and a system of medical and pharmaceutical colleges and middle schools.



The second prerequisite is a strengthened corps of public health cadres. Compared to other localities, there is nothing special about socio-economic life in Ung Hoa and, in some respects, life there is worse than at many other places: the district's fields are lowlying and marshy, not much investment capital has been received from the upper level... Nevertheless, the at-home health management movement has been maintained quite well. This is because the district has a corps of public health cadres who wholeheartedly serve their patients. This corps of public health cadres is tightly organized and well cared for from the standpoint of material and spiritual needs, the cultivation of political, ideological and ethical standards and specialized and professional training. The public health cadres at the hospital and in Tan Phuong Village, where the Van Dinh Hospital is located, are always working to meet the standards set forth in the teaching of Uncle Ho. Everyone has made progress in their special field and has a relatively stable standard of living. As a result, the "Van Dinh initiative" has become established practice.

In view of the fact that many difficulties are still being encountered in material life, special attention must be given to the implementation of systems and policies for all public health cadres and personnel who are mobilized.

As an example, consider Tan Phuong Village in Ung Hoa District. In 1984, this village had a population of 5,000 in 920 families divided into three neighborhood volunteer public health units. The village's public health apparatus consists of four physicians and nine nurses. One physician, the chief physician, and three nurses work at the public health-maternity station and three physicians and six nurses work in the volunteer units with the help of the 920 Red Cross members who form the grassroots of these units within the families. Only seven persons receive a monthly salary, ranging from 82 to 136 dong. The person who sells drugs earns a salary of 72 dong (old money). These persons must stand duty at the station and work many hours overtime but receive little remuneration. The others earn workpoints from the cooperative, 11 points per day for physicians and 9 points per day for nurses. Funding for professional training classes for the corps of public health cadres and for the activities of the Red Cross at basic units is also very limited and not governed by any specific regulations. This is not to mention the need to build or expand the minimum material bases required. Clearly, to maintain and enhance the zeal and skills of cadres and the many persons engaged in public health work on the basic level, there is a need for greater concern for these matters on the part of all levels of the party and administration and all related sectors under the guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the central level, the local level and the basic level working together."

In essence, "health management, medical examinations and medical treatment at home" uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in the field of public health.

Although difficulties still exist in many areas, we have managed to establish the necessary prerequisites, namely, a widespread and complete public health network and a large corps of public health cadres. If we know how to tap the

spirit of collective ownership and the creativity of the people, we are entirely capable of overcoming the difficulties we face and establishing "health management, medical examinations and medical treatment at home" nationwide. This is also the best approach, the best path for us to take to achieve the lofty goal of "good health for everyone by the year 2000."

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## BUILDING CULTURAL LIFE ON THE BASIC LEVEL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 86-89, 102

[Article by Nguyen Van Kieu]

[Text] The basic unit is the lowest unit in the system of social organizations. The locality, the sector and the country can only be strong when the basic units are strong. The evaluation of whether any unit is strong or weak must be based on many factors, one of which is cultural life. In our country, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution are closely interrelated. They lay the foundation for one another, have a positive impact upon one another and stimulate one another's development. One revolution is the cause and effect of the others. To successfully build cultural life at basic units is to successfully carry out the ideological and cultural revolution at basic units. Carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution at basic units well creates the conditions for the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution to be carried out well at basic units.

Chiefly as a result of the special importance of organizing and building cultural life at basic units, the resolution of the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "One task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to cause culture to pervade the daily life of the people. Particular importance must be attached to building cultural life at basic units to insure that every factory, worksite, state farm and forestry sight, every unit of the armed forces and people's public security forces, every agency, school and hospital, every village, cooperative, subward and hamlet has a cultural life."(1)

All resolutions of the plenums of the Party Central Committee held since the 5th National Congress of the Party have addressed this issue. Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 159/HDBT on work in the field of culture and information asserts: we must "widely build a cultural life of high quality at basic units" and endeavor to "insure that cultural activities are conducted at the majority of basic units, that the laboring people are able to read newspapers, listen to the radio, view films and view art. Special attention must be given to rural areas, ethnic areas and highland and border areas."

During the past several years, in keeping with the above resolutions of the party and state, attention has been given to intensifying the effort to build cultural life at basic units.

In 1983, practically all localities investigated and studied the situation surrounding cultural life at basic units and promptly resolved a number of organizational problems and problems regarding systems and policies with a view toward improving cultural life at basic units. To some localities, this was not the first investigation to be conducted concerning cultural life at basic units. However, deserving of attention is the fact that this was the first time that such investigations were carried out on a nationwide basis in a concerted, vigorous manner marked by many innovations. These basic investigations were carried out on the basis of thorough preparations in the areas of organization, manpower and funding. Moreover, following the investigation, each locality took specific, positive steps to insure that the majority of basic units have a cultural life and participate in cultural activities. Gia Lai-Kontum and Dac Lac Provinces enacted measures to closely manage film projection units with the aim of serving all basic units in remote, wilderness areas well. After conducting their investigations into cultural life at basic units, Ha Bac and Thai Binh Provinces assigned specific norms to each unit. Ben Tre and Vinh Phu Provinces defined and classified basic units so that plans could be adopted to coordinate all cultural activities and eventually build cultural life at all basic units. The provinces of the Red River Delta adopted guidelines and plans for raising the enjoyment of culture by the masses at basic units to a higher level. The municipality of Hanoi has taken steadfast steps to build cultural life in its subwards and villages. In particular, Ho Chi Minh City has made positive efforts to build cultural life at basic units, held many symposiums on cultural life and, as a result, gained much good experience. In summary, practically all localities in the country have given much more attention to the building of cultural life at basic units. In many provinces and municipalities, the standing committees of the provincial and municipal party committees have adopted resolutions concerning this issue.

The culture and information sector has also coordinated with the localities, sectors and mass organizations in holding joint conferences on the building of cultural life at basic units as it relates to these sectors, localities and mass organizations. These joint conferences have addressed such matters of practical importance as building cultural life among the workers of the coal and rubber industries, among the workers at the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant construction site and within general schools and colleges; building cultural life at the basic units in the Dong Thap Muoi region, the rural areas of Nam Bo and the coastal areas of central Vietnam, where the cooperativization of agriculture has virtually been completed, in the areas along the northern border, etc. Following these joint conferences, many important resolutions on building cultural life at basic units were adopted along with programs with specific targets for each conference participant.

Chiefly as a result of these positive and effective activities, a new quality has been achieved in the effort to build cultural life at basic units in the recent past: the movement has begun to develop in both breadth and depth; the enjoyment of culture by the masses at basic units has been raised to a new

level; and advanced models in the building of cultural life continue to emerge.

However, in many areas, especially ethnic minority areas, former resistance base areas and the rural areas of the South, cultural life remains weak. There is still a rather wide gap in the level of enjoyment of culture by the masses at basic units from one area to another, one region to another.

This weakness is due to many reasons. One very important reason is the fact that some party committees and administrations are still giving light attention to cultural and information work and do not realize the full importance of this work in the common cause of the revolution, consequently, they have been lax from the standpoint of providing guidance and have left everything up to the culture and information sector. The annual budget of the culture and information sector is very small.

The corps of cadres specializing in cultural and information work at basic units is very weak and very inadequate in size. In addition, the professional standards of this corps of cadres are very limited. At many places, the work of culture and information cadres can be summarized in the following words: "Hand carrying things from one place to another, making up lists and putting things in order; lights, trumpets, loudspeakers, nails, string, glue and paper." That is, they are preoccupied with daily routine.

More than a few places do not have a correct or full understanding of what exactly is involved in cultural life at basic units and do not know what must be done to build cultural life at basic units. Some places emphasize form and construct large cultural centers without knowing what the activities of a cultural center entail. Yet, they proudly proclaim that their locality or basic unit has a highly developed cultural life. Other places build a large literary and art unit, purchase an attractive stage and then think that they have an above average cultural life. When cultural life is understood in such a one-sided way, how is it possible to build the necessary cultural life, a beautiful cultural life that satisfies the needs of the people at basic units?

Building a good cultural life at basic units is always an important task of the socialist revolution in our country. This is not at all a simple matter. Rather, it is quite complex and difficult. To build a good cultural life at basic units, the following fundamental requirements must be met:

To begin with, the various party committee echelons and levels of administration must truly provide close leadership and guidance. Facts have shown that in every locality and basic unit where the party committee and administration provide close leadership and guidance, the movement to build cultural life produces good results. Because, when the party committee and administration are truly concerned with this movement, numerous favorable conditions arise: the situation is thoroughly surveyed; a full budget is provided for building cultural life at basic units; attention is given to the training of culture and information cadres; systems and policies are enacted that provide incentive to those who work in the fields of culture and information, etc. This has been proven by the advanced models on the provincial and municipal level, such as Nghia Binh Province and Ho Chi Minh

City; the advanced models on the district level, such as Hai Hau and Thu Duc; and the advanced models on the basic level, such as Duong Lam in Hanoi, Dao Xa in Vinh Phu, Chi Trung in Ha Son Binh, Duyen Hai in Thai Binh, Vinh Thuy in Binh Tri Thien, Hai Van in Ha Nam Ninh, Phuc Chu in Bac Thai, the 3rd Subward of the 1st Precinct in Ho Chi Minh City, the Quyet Thang Subward in Bien Hoa City, the Tran Hung Dao Subward in Nam Dinh City, the Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel Complex, the 8 March Textile Mill, etc.

Another important factor is the need to conduct truly detailed investigations and research. Only in this way can we gain a clear understanding of the potentials and the development of culture at basic units; determine who it is that enjoys and creates cultural values; keep abreast of the situation surrounding the corps of culture and information cadres on the basic level, etc. In summary, only by conducting truly detailed research and investigations can we assess the state of the cultural life of the masses at basic units in order to adopt plans for building this cultural life and establish suitable targets for each region, each area, each locality and each basic unit.

Building and training a good corps of cadres specializing in cultural and information work at basic units is also a factor of decisive significance. In order for the district to have a culture and information movement, it must have culture and information cadres. No longer can we tolerate the problem of basic units not having a specialized culture and information cadre. When there is work to be done, there must be someone to perform it. However, having the persons needed to perform this work is not enough. These persons must also know what to do, that is, must meet certain cultural and professional standards so that they are fully capable of carrying out the work assigned to them. Thus, one problem we face is the need to quickly train a corps of specialized culture and information cadres at basic units. Along with providing professional training, it is also necessary to enact appropriate benefit policies concerning those persons who specialize in culture and information work at basic units. Only in this way can they feel secure and enthusiastic about their work. Council of Ministers' Resolution Number 159/HDBT on work in the field of culture and information points out that, from this point onward, all basic units must have specialized culture and information cadres who must be paid the same remuneration as education and public health cadres.

The work of building cultural life at the basic unit must mainly be carried out by the basic unit itself. However, appropriate investments by the upper levels in material-technical bases are still required because there are some things that the basic unit cannot do regardless of how hard it tries. For example, building a literary-art unit or an information unit requires special purpose equipment, such as stage backgrounds and screens, musical instruments, makeup, loudspeakers, stages, batteries, etc. Without assistance from the upper levels, how can a basic unit obtain these items on its own? There are still many localities in which the funds allocated for culture and information are very small. This situation clearly cannot be tolerated if we truly want to build a good cultural life at basic units.

Building a good cultural life at basic units also requires that special attention be given to building and developing culture on the district level. Culture on the district level is that which binds the culture of the entire country together, that which links culture on the central level to culture at the basic units. Because our level of material production is still low, communications are underdeveloped and the mass media are not in use nationwide, the masses in the countryside have little opportunity to participate in the cultural activities of the entire country, of the central level or even of their own provinces. Therefore, we must intensify the building of culture on the district level so that we can, through it, disseminate and popularize culture, bring the common cultural values of the entire country to each basic unit and meet the rising cultural needs of the masses at basic units. A solid and strong culture on the district level will play a positive role in organizing efforts to guide, develop and improve the cultural activities at basic units. The district cultural centers in a number of localities have played a definite role in formulating activity plans and programs and improving the quality of cultural activities at basic units. The training of village and hamlet literary and art units, literary and art activists and propagandists has begun to be included in the activities of district cultural centers. Club activities, symposiums, exhibits, cultural entertainment performances and so forth can also be held at the cultural facilities of the district. These activities help to support and improve the quality of the culture and information activities at basic units and make it possible for the people to participate in large numbers in the creation of new cultural values. Thus, it is clear that the building of cultural life at basic units cannot be separated from cultural development on the district and ward level.

In addition to the factors cited above, it is also necessary that we have a correct and full understanding of cultural life at basic units. Cultural life is a broad category, one that encompasses the activities of many cultural and social sectors. This issue is currently the subject of debate. However, there is virtual agreement that in order for a basic unit to have a good cultural life, its activities must encompass the following six basic areas: first, it must conduct information and motivational activities, hold exhibits and show films. Secondly, it must have a widespread mass literature and art movement. Thirdly, it must build the movement to read and work in accordance with revolutionary books and newspapers. Fourthly, it must have a movement to teach tradition by means of museum activities. Fifthly, it must have a movement to build the new, socialist way of life. Sixthly, it must have a cultural center and club system that conducts regular activities. Only when we have such a comprehensive understanding of cultural life is it possible to adopt guidelines for building cultural life and set specific targets. Of course, we cannot demand that each and every basic unit meet all six of the standards presented above before being recognized as having a cultural life. In the immediate future, at those places where the movement is still at a low level of development, it is necessary to build a minimum cultural life in the following areas: informational and motivational activities, a mass literature and art movement and a campaign to establish the new, socialist way of life.

We are making positive efforts to insure that cultural activities are conducted at the majority of basic units and that the people are able to read newspapers, listen to the radio, view films and view art.

The areas in which our efforts must be focused are the major cities, the northern border provinces, the rural areas of the Mekong Delta and the former base areas of the revolution and resistance.

We are still encountering many difficulties in building cultural life at basic units. However, if we are determined, we certainly will achieve good results.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 101.

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## SUPERSTITIONS MUST BE QUICKLY ERADICATED

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 90-93

[Article by Bui Thi Kim Quy]

[Text] We are living in a period of transition from the old to the new. When, against this background, we address the issue of establishing the cultured way of life or lifestyle, mention must be made of a phenomenon that has recently drawn very much attention. It is superstitious beliefs, the most negative form of religion, beliefs that assume a wide variety of expression and appear to be spreading to many strata of the population and many age groups.

In fact, superstitious beliefs are being practiced in the cities as well as the countryside, among the old as well as the young, by women and men alike, by persons of all levels of education and occupations, from persons whose income is unstable to persons who have a stable livelihood. Superstitious beliefs have even harmed some cadres and party members.

Worthy of mention is the fact that superstitious customs are being practiced not only by a backward element of the masses, but even within many units, agencies, enterprises and localities (for example, the practice of "spirit worship," especially in the month of July within the communications-transportation sector and the activities involving the "three interests" that take place in some areas around temples at which "miracles" have occurred, activities which the cultural sector and state-operated commerce actively "support").

In the recent past, superstitious phenomena have occurred time and time again. And, on each occasion, they have drawn a significant number of blind followers among the masses. In 1984, the "magical" surging waters of the Mekong River were said to cure "all diseases" just as the water of the Kenh Ga Stream in the North was rumored to do several decades ago. The results were easily seen: the abandonment of productive labor by a rather large number of superstitious persons and considerable damage to the property and the life of gullible laborers.

It is truly an oddity that we still see in our municipalities and cities more than a few funerals that are more garrish than processions, with brass bands

that loudly play both Eastern and Western music; funerals involving lavish feasts and all sorts of offerings of condolence that last for many days; and weddings in which a fortune teller is asked to read the couple's charts and select the hour of the "zodiac" for meeting the bride and bringing her home...

Clearly, these are phenomena that are alien and very hostile to the cultural and ideological revolution within our society.

The issue confronting us is to deeply analyze the causes of these phenomena so that we can adopt appropriate policies and measures aimed at reducing and eventually eliminating superstitious practices.

To begin with, it is necessary for us to understand the essence of religious beliefs, religion and superstition and the organic relationship among them.

All three of the above concepts share a common characteristic: belief in the power of the spiritual, the mystical. This belief is manifested in ceremonies which range from the simple to the intricate depending upon the ethnic group in question and the age. With the passage of time, traditional clan factors gradually waned and these ceremonies assumed a new theme of a distinct class nature.

With religion, this belief became a system of dogma and morals that define both the world view and philosophy of life of man. In addition, in its ceremonial aspects, religion became a strict code of rules, a system of religious law complete with a church organization and religious clergy, all of whom have a specific place within the church hierarchy and specialize in caring for the "souls" of the religion's followers. At the same time, this clergy is constantly conscious of "bringing glory to the religion" through studies designed to legitimize their religious dogma, laws and authority in ways increasingly compatible with the broad masses.

Superstitions, because of their original nature as a form of worship, evolved into blind beliefs that do not discriminate between right and wrong and are sometimes pursued to the point where all reason is lost. Superstitions differ in degree. The mildest forms of all, forms that sometimes are nothing more than a common phobia, are: a fear of Tuesdays, or Saturdays, the fear of walking onto the street and encountering a girl, "observing the birthdays of saints and gods," the phobia about opening packages, etc. However, there are also times when superstitions become social ills and even result in fatal accidents, thus revealing their unscientific and inhuman nature: "burying a newborn child alive because it is thought to be a 'witch'; not allowing a woman to give birth on a boat, curing diseases by trickery and deception; the Chi field affair in Hanoi, which stirs up public opinion and causes indignation among the people..." Superstitions are also used by reactionaries to further their attempts at political sabotage (provoking persons into leaving the country or impeding fulfillment of the military obligation through fortune telling...).

One matter deserving of attention is that every orthodox church views itself as being "above worldly things," as having nothing to do with superstitions but, in practice, does not exclude superstitious beliefs (for example, at a

church in Thu Duc, members of a religion once gathered up and ate the rice crispies left in the coffin of a deceased priest in the belief that their entire family would enjoy good health; each time the Vu Lan Festival is held (on the day of the full moon in July), tens of millions of dong worth of votive paper are burned at the temples...). Superstitious beliefs are clearly used to reinforce religious beliefs and to assert the power of the church.

In addition, superstitious phenomena are encouraged at many places by merchants who specialize in selling religious items. Acting in the name of the executive committee or management board of a mass organization, they legally engage in practices to deceive superstitious persons (such as printing and selling pictures of Buddha astride a dragon to save ships in storms in the South China Sea; imprinting T-shirts with many different effigies, each to suit a different occasion...). More outrageous yet is the fact that some places are set up to read the stars to ward off bad luck or, leaving things as they are, concentrate on the various forms of fortune telling, palm reading and phrenology or card reading, consulting the oracles and petitioning the spirits, including holding lavish ceremonies on the occasion of the "birthday" of gods, ceremonies that last for several days. Some places hold "requiem masses" for the dead and even high masses in honor of "saints." And, at some places, to legitimize their worship services and feast, organizing committees invite representatives of the administration, the Front and mass organizations to open their ceremonies and participate with them!

Having analyzed the causes of superstitious phenomena, we cannot agree with the overly simplified explanation of the current state of superstitious beliefs and practices that they are only a normal part of a post-war society. We must look more closely at the objective reality of the current state of superstitious beliefs and practices. It is the reality of the initial stage of the period of transition from capitalism (largely neo-colonialist) to socialism, a stage in which the superior features of socialism have yet to be fully developed and the consequences of the old society still weigh heavily upon the way of life, the way of thinking and the behavior of many segments and strata of society. Deserving of attention is that, at some times and places, the old even impedes and overpowers the new and the progressive. As a result, opportunities still exist for the revival of illusions concerning a spiritual, mystical power and factors supporting these illusions still persist.

However, we would not be addressing the full issue if we were to stop at the visible, external forms of superstitious practices and not take into consideration the ideological significance of the long-range and dangerous sabotage carried out by imperialism, not only during its period of aggression, but also under its "post-war plan," a plan which includes making thorough use of the factors of superstition and religion as a competent force whose psychological warfare function is to widely sabotage our people's spiritual life. Whereas superstitious practices were considered an "undeclared national policy" under neo-colonialism, they continue to have an unseen impact today, the harmful consequences of which upon the life of our society cannot be fully measured. It can be said that this is not only a matter of political

provocation, but also a matter of organizing and guiding, of supplying means and money for the emergence of all sorts and forms of superstitious practices, especially those that permeate and attract large numbers of youths and teenagers.

We understand religious beliefs, religions and superstitions to be essentially nothing more than illusions. These illusions, however, do not die easily. They can persist long after that which gave them birth has disappeared. At some point in the future, when the level of social production has risen, material and cultural needs are being met, families are happy and the war has been relegated to the past, persons who still live in the world of religious traditions--which will then be considered social habits--will still need much time to set a new direction for themselves and put behind themselves the concepts, customs and public opinion pressures of religious followers.

On the other hand, it can be said that religious beliefs, religions and superstitions also involve the very complex emotions and psychological factors that arise when a disaster, grave illness or death befall a close relative. Then, a few masses or prayers are not sufficient to ease the pain felt by these persons, who never did believe in heaven or hell, in a life hereafter or in the immortality of the soul but only turned to masses and prayers for comfort, to soothe their soul. But it is precisely at these brief moments that enemies use the religion, use the devotion felt by these persons to easily lead the masses down the path of mysticism.

The issue confronting us is to quickly eradicate superstitious beliefs and practices, beginning among cadres, party members and Youth Union members. Of course, our concepts and the measures we take must be carefully analyzed in order to classify, by nature and degree, the specific approach to be taken so that we do not confuse respect for religious beliefs with the need to put a stop to every manner of superstition that has caused many tragedies to befall society.

However, we can also chart a more positive course, that is, create a good environment within the family as well as in society, in the cities as well as the country, from small, collective production units to large enterprises and so forth, one that brings everyone to the realization that we must wage a determined struggle to win victory over everything that reflects regression and backwardness. In other words, we must seize upon the dialectical impact of building the new while eradicating the old in the field of liberating man from the illusions of religious beliefs. In particular, we must effectively put a stop to superstitious phenomena.

Therefore, we must give thought to creating the conditions and means needed for our cultural activities to attract people, to take the place of traditional religious festivals and meet the cultural needs of the broad masses, especially the various strata of youths. Good cultural models must be quickly increased in number. Places that have successfully established the new way of life in many fields--funerals, weddings, death anniversaries and so forth--must constantly maintain and build upon the movement and combat the resurgence and revival of superstitious customs.

In summary, even though, from the standpoint of religious beliefs, the psychological state of our society is abnormal and superstitions are in vogue among the masses, we still must remain calm so that we can determine the causes of this situation and find rational ways to correct it. This is the correct guideline that will enable us to avoid trends that can occur, from the left to the right and vice versa, regarding all these phenomena, from superstitions to the attitude of substituting prayers and waiting for revolutionary action. This is an arduous and complex as well as delicate struggle, a struggle that requires time and demands that we be highly persuasive. Because, this is also an issue that relates to emotions, to customs and tradition, to public opinion, to the broad range of communal relations, etc.

Liberating these persons from the influences of spirits and gods and helping them to place their ardent trust in the creative power of their own minds and hands for the sake of building and defending the socialist fatherland, this is the objective that we must seek to achieve in the current struggle to eradicate superstitious customs.

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## IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: THE PARTICULAR AND THE GENERAL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 94-96, 93

[Article by Ha Phuong]

[Text] A drop of water in the sea, a tree in the forest, an individual within the collective, a locality within the country...all are a part of the whole, all are part of a relationship between the particular and the general. The particular and the general are one of the fundamental pairs of categories of the material dialectic. They reflect a series of universal, constant and dialectical relationships among things and phenomena. According to Marxism-Leninism, everything particular is part of something that is general. It reflects and is controlled by that which is general. Everything that is general encompasses the particular and defines what the particular is. The particular is more detailed than the general but the general is more profound than the particular. Without the particular, there can be nothing that is general. Conversely, without the general, there can be no particular.

Capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of production. Capitalist production has the aim of satisfying the blind personal interests of the capitalists. Therefore, they extol the particular very highly, they consider the particular to be everything. The capitalist considers private ownership to be a sacred and inviolable right. The selfish character of the capitalist is praised to the skies. They compete against one another. They belittle one another and even stab one another in the back and trample one another for the sake of nothing more than selfish personal interests. Under the system of private ownership, everyone looks out for himself, no one cares about another person's interests and everyone has an enormous ego. The ethic and sentiment of capitalists are "someone else must die so that I can live." Their desire is for misfortune to befall everyone else so that "I can profit!"

Conversely, socialism is founded upon the public ownership of the instruments of production. The goal of socialist production is to satisfy the rising needs of all the people. Socialism also takes a dialectical and scientific approach, consequently, it recognizes and establishes the correct relationship between the particular and the general, the individual and the collective, the part and the whole. Socialism does not set the particular against the general, does not trample upon the particular, as bourgeois propagandists frequently and erroneously claim. Socialism has the highest respect for the

particular, protects the particular; however, while respecting and protecting the particular, it also gives very much attention to the general and demands that the particular be part of the general and conform to the general. The general opens the way for the particular. It creates the conditions for the particular to fully assert itself and undergo brilliant development. At the same time, everything that the particular does is done for the sake of the general, done to enhance the general. The particular and the general combine as one. Each is the basis of the other, each augments the other. The general does not annex the particular. The particular does not lie outside the general. The ethic of man in socialist society is "one for all, all for one." The principle that pervades socialism is the principle of democratic centralism.

The elementary matters presented above are clearly known by each of our cadres and party members. Some comrades have studied them many times. Yet, among us there are still incorrect approaches to the relationship between the particular and the general, incorrect understandings of this relationship and ways of establishing this relationship that are inappropriate.

Some places, because they have long failed to fully realize the importance of the particular, have not given proper attention to creating the conditions for the particular to develop. Instead of encouraging the basic units, the members of their sector or component to display initiative and creativity, dare to think and take action and step up their production and business, they have "embraced" everything, not boldly assigned responsibilities or authority to basic units and not taken determined steps to separate themselves from management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. They are very unwilling to talk about calculating profit and loss in business. They fear that developing the local economy and the household economy will lead them down the path of capitalist spontaneity! Instead of giving appropriate attention to interests of the individual laborer and using economic leverage policies to encourage the laborer to display the full measure of his talent and creativity, some places merely call for everyone to do everything for the general, for the collective through cursory educational efforts and general appeals.

Conversely, there are some places that do not have a correct understanding of what is involved in displaying dynamism and creativity. This has led them to "creativity" that is not based in principle, to only emphasizing concern for the particular and only doing those things that serve the partial interests of one's locality, sector or unit. They do not take the perspective of the whole, do not place themselves within the general. There are even places that are prepared to violate general interests for the sake of particular interests. This is why we have seen such phenomena as looking for ways to reduce contract quotas; practicing deception in the calculation of the consumption of materials and product output in order to reduce contributions to the state; and intentionally violating state law, establishing illicit funds, operating illegal businesses or enacting, without authorization, separate regulations that do not comply with principles just to arrange things to benefit one's unit. Of the three different components of the production

and business plan, some places only concern themselves with "plan three," only give priority to "plan three," thus adversely affecting the other components of the plan.

Many directives and resolutions of the party and state have strongly criticized the improper practices described above and pointed out the serious harm they cause while demanding that all levels and sectors display a high spirit of socialist collective ownership and establish a good relationship between personal interests, the interests of the collective and the interests of the state, that is, establish a good relationship between the particular and the general. Recently, the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee once again emphasized this issue. It requires that all levels and sectors take determined steps to dismantle the management system based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices, strongly encourage basic units, collectives and individuals to display dynamism and creativity and strictly implement the principle of democratic centralism. However, some places and sectors are still undecided and hesitant and have not taken definite, determined steps to bring their method of operation in line with the spirit of the resolution of the 8th Plenum. They continue to adhere to the same old way of thinking and working. Many places still cling to old principles and laws that are no longer suitable, as a result of which basic production units still feel that they are hamstrung.

On the other hand, at more than a few places, even in the process of implementing the resolution of the 8th Plenum, things have been seen that reflect liberalism, the lack of discipline and localism, things contrary to the principle of centralism and unity in economic management and social management. They are: not complying with price discipline and maintaining the price scale; taking advantage of opportunities to "fish in troubled waters" and trying to achieve a "fait accompli" as some state stores did during the days that price subsidies were being added to wages; disclosing economic secrets; dispersing cash within some units and enterprises during the days that the money exchange was being carried out; attempts at some places to incorrectly raise the salaries of cadres and personnel across the board during the days that improvements were being made to the wage system...

In the relationship between the individual and the collective, only recognizing the interests of the individual, looking for every way to further the interests of the individual and performing work only on the basis of the requirements and interests of the individual are phenomena that are seen at many places. When a contradiction arises between the interests of the individual and the interests of the collective, they are prepared to place the interests of the individual above the interests of the collective. Their specious reasoning is that because the state is still encountering difficulties and is unable to fully provide for the needs of each person, each person must look after his own needs. To them, when the people are prosperous, the country will be strong. Some persons are constantly seeking a better position, grease palms and engage in illegal trade and other illegal means of earning a living in order to make themselves wealthy. Some persons take public land for themselves, steal materials from the state and steal from the collective in order to illegally build a house. Some persons use their



public position or the task assigned to them (especially in the supply, commerce, finance and banking sectors) to conspire with others, commit fraud, demand gifts or favors and embezzle public property. Some persons extort money in a very brazen fashion.

There are also persons who manipulate public and personal affairs to work to their own advantage. They are prepared to use the name of their agency, the name of their collective to do things that serve their own personal interests. When something is successful, they claim it as a personal achievement, as something to their credit. When something is a failure or less than successful, they blame it on objective circumstances or maintain that it is "the responsibility of the collective." Here, there is no clear line between the general and the particular. Sometimes, common interests become personal interests and that which harms the individual also harms the collective.

One can cite many similar phenomena within our society and among some of our cadres and party members. All of these phenomena are contrary to the character of socialism, are incompatible with the spirit of socialist collective ownership and harm the interests of the state and the collective.

The more we think about it, the more we understand why our party very strongly emphasizes the need to teach and cultivate the sense of socialist collective ownership. Our party vigorously asserts that socialist collective ownership is the essence of socialism, that upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is the moving force behind the socialist revolution in our country. It is the position of our party that we must cultivate within each person, each sector, each level and each organization the sense of socialist collective ownership and wage a determined struggle against individualism, against private ownership, against ownership by the guild, which are incompatible with the character of socialism.

Uncle Ho often advised us: Our state today belongs to all laborers. The laboring people are the collective owners of all material and cultural wealth. Because they are the owners, they must look after the affairs of state as they do the affairs of their own households, must respect and maintain public property. It is even more necessary that cadres and party members set a good example and display a high spirit of socialist collective ownership. "Individualism, furthering oneself to the detriment of others, liberalism, the lack of organization and discipline and the other character flaws are the dangerous enemies of socialism." (1)

Imbued with the thoughtful and profound teachings of Uncle Ho and fully implementing the policies of the party, we will surely establish a better relationship between the particular and the general, a better relationship

among the interests of the individual, the interests of the collective and the interests of the state, which is a very important requirement in the process of putting the new management system into practice.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang"[On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 156.

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## CONCERNING ANTI-VIETNAM REACTIONARY ALLEGATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 97-102

[Article by Pham Nhu Cuong]

[Text] The U.S. imperialists, the Beijing reactionaries and extreme right wing reactionary powers within the countries of ASEAN have been and are coordinating with one another to "avenge" their bitter defeats in Indochina. They have been and are waging an intense and continuous war of ideological sabotage and psychological war on a large scale against our country.

The first psychological warfare campaign following the liberation of the South was a campaign to sow panic and confusion over a large-scale "blood bath" against puppet army and government personnel and their relatives. Then, during the years from 1975 to 1977, the "northernization" of the South allegation was hurled about, the suggestion being that it was the "necessary next step" in the North's "aggression" against the South. Along with this allegation, they made every effort to portray the people of the North as "inferior," "simple" and "confused" and the South as a place of "prosperity and plenty." The salient theme during the years from 1978 to 1980 was that Vietnam had created the "Chinese refugees" tragedy by "persecuting ethnic Chinese," that Vietnam had caused a massive wave of refugees by "suppressing freedom and violating human rights."

They distorted the action we took in self-defense and the assistance we provided to the Cambodian revolution as "aggression against Cambodia for the purpose of establishing an Indochina Union," as pursuit of a "policy of regional hegemony." They made the allegations that "Vietnam is sending citizens to colonize Cambodia," that "Vietnam is using chemical poisons in Laos and Cambodia." The strategic alliance between Vietnam and the Soviet Union is distorted by them as being a relationship between "a large hegemonist power and a small hegemonist power." They blame us for the hostile relations that exist between China and Vietnam: "Vietnam is ungrateful and has sabotaged Sino-Viet friendship"; "Vietnam committed aggression and forced China to counter-attack in self-defense," etc.

In keeping with the art of psychological warfare, the above mentioned allegations have usually been made at appropriate times and made public through all mass media, with the aims of causing panic, weakening our people's

will, deceiving public opinion and concealing their sinister and cruel schemes and tactics.

Through unfounded allegations, they also seek to prove that socialism cannot satisfy the aspirations of the people for freedom, democracy and a decent life and does not guarantee independence or democracy, that nationalism has triumphed over internationalism. These are also the two major themes employed by world anti-communism to distort and attack Marxism-Leninism and the real socialism in the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries.

Following the withdrawal of U.S. aggressor forces from Vietnam, two U.S. presidents, Ford and Carter, lacked conditions that were conducive to interpreting the historical lessons drawn from the Vietnam experience in a light favorable to the United States and thus urged Americans to "forget it," to not allow the spectre of the Vietnam experience to continue to haunt them, to divide the United States. Now, the Reagan administration is taking a different approach to bring the American people out of the shock of Vietnam: if a similar case occurs, we must fight harder!(Reagan himself once advised Nixon to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam). Siding with Reagan, Pentagon generals have proclaimed: "We must do what we did in Grenada, not what we did in Vietnam." To "restore the honor" of the U.S. soldiers who fought in Vietnam, the U.S. administration commissioned the construction of a war memorial, set aside a day to honor the memory of war dead and held a state funeral for the unknown U.S. soldier of the Vietnam war in the hope that, by taking these steps, they would end the "bitter and persistent recriminations from a war that caused the deepest divisions in the history of the United States." But these are not just attempts to deceive the people about their history, rather, they are mainly efforts to prepare the people psychologically so that American youths can once again be turned into aggressive expeditionary forces and carry out the U.S. imperialists' role as international gendarme. While evading or giving only cursory attention to the issues of jobs and other social policies for Vietnam veterans, especially black veterans, the Reagan administration has been making a big fuss over U.S. soldiers still "missing in action" in Vietnam in a vain attempt to prove "the administration's total concern for each U.S. citizen, for the suffering of the families of the missing." On the other hand, they have also used this issue to slander and misrepresent Vietnam and provoke American public opinion, considering this to be one of the primary issues that must be resolved in the relations between the United States and Vietnam. White House strategists also intended to exploit this issue by arranging for Reagan to stop in Hawaii on his way to China in April, 1984 to receive the remains of eight U.S. military personnel being returned to them. Their aim was to "record a public victory for his foreign policy... from the standpoint of supporting the interests of the United States and our conduct toward both China and Vietnam." We, of course, did not allow Reagan to carry out this despicable piece of psywar trickery!

The information and propaganda apparatus of the United States has also exploited the issue of the children of U.S. servicemen remaining in South Vietnam by feigning a desire to quickly bring all victims of the war to the United States and accusing Vietnam of racial discrimination, of putting difficulties in the way of the departure of these children... However, as Pham Van Dong said, "the United States government can take these children to

the United States tomorrow if it so desires. If the United States were to send aircraft here tomorrow, we would put these children on them. But no, the United States wants to be provided with the records of these children. The United States want us to provide detailed information on their parents. This will require time... If the United States is truly concerned with the fate of these children, why does it need records? Why? Because, the U.S. government wants to use this issue against Vietnam."(1)

Although not as vociferously as before, the U.S. and Western press occasionally returns to the issue of "reeducation camps" and the "emigre" issue, considering them to be signs of "continued human rights violations in Vietnam." The truth concerning this allegation has also been pointed out by Pham Van Dong: "Following the liberation of the South in 1975, there was no blood bath nor any trial of the type held at Nuremberg. Not one death sentence was handed down to anyone who collaborated with the enemy, which was not the case in Europe following World War II. Instead of resorting to armed force, we sent these mass murderers, sent those who participated with the United States in the massacre at My Lai and the 'Phoenix' campaigns to reeducation camps. The majority of these persons have since been given their freedom. Only a small number still remain in camps..."(2)

Through the several psychological warfare tactics described above, we also see the characteristic U.S. mentality of arrogance and chauvinism concerning how they think the consequences of their war of aggression in Vietnam should be resolved: the U.S. administration makes not the slightest mention of its moral and material responsibility for the countless crimes, the enormous loss of life and property and the enormous destruction to the environment that the peoples of the three countries of Indochina suffered at their hands. To them, settling the unresolved issues of the Vietnam war is merely a matter of demanding that Vietnam provide full information on and release the remains of U.S. servicemen still listed by them as missing; acceding to their demands concerning the children of U.S. servicemen; and granting complete freedom to all war criminals and the subordinates who aided them. The U.S. administration considers these to be the conditions that must be met before they can consider normalizing relations with Vietnam.

Acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists have also made Vietnam and Indochina the targets of constant, fierce attacks through a wide-ranging war of sabotage, in which the tactics being employed are both ruthless and cunning. Within the context of the psychological war, the Beijing reactionaries have truly caught up to their "great friend," the U.S. imperialists, as regards their ability to distort, slander and misrepresent. Since April 1984, they have carried out many artillery attacks, attacks that have been intense and lasted for many days, against hundreds of our villages along the border, some as far as dozens of kilometers inside Vietnam's territory, and have illegally occupied a number of hills along the border and deep within our territory. The evidence of their crimes, still clearly visible, has been photographed, recorded by television and recorded in the confessions made by Chinese prisoners. Yet, over the propaganda loudspeakers of Beijing, we continue to hear the claim that Vietnam's army invaded Chinese territory and forced China to "counter-attack to defend its border!"

Distorting Vietnam's withdrawal of some forces from Cambodia, they claim that "the source of the tense and abnormal situation in Southeast Asia is Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia and its pursuit of a policy of regional hegemony with the support of the Soviet Union!" They also loudly claim that "the Soviet Union's support of Vietnam harms the interests of third countries and affects peace and security in Asia and the world. China sincerely wishes to live in friendship with its neighbors!" There is an odd similarity between the allegations made by the United States and those made by China: Reagan, a man who is pursuing the most maniacal of militarist policies, a man in whom anti-communism is virtually an instinct, an innate characteristic, also boasts at great length about his responsibility toward international peace and security...

These demagogic and cunning words are being spoken by the authorities of the United States and China at the very time that they are intensifying the arms race and increasing their strategic military collaboration and cooperation, at the very time that the U.S. imperialists are intervening by means of subversive activities and waging undeclared wars at many places in the world and China is viciously attacking areas along our country's border. Attention should also be given to the fact that the Beijing reactionaries have also mobilized the entire circle of Chinese scholars to participate in a campaign to distort the history of Vietnam and the history of the international relations between the two countries.

Defeating the psychological war and the war of ideological sabotage being waged by the U.S. imperialists and Beijing reactionaries against our country is an urgent and important task. Together with heightening the people's spirit of revolutionary vigilance, heightening their determination to maintain the struggle and thwarting the enemy in everything they might do to harm our people, we must fully research the schemes and tactics of the enemy so that we can denounce them before world opinion in a timely, thorough and widespread manner.

The monopolization by the information apparatus of the capitalist state of public opinion in the United States and the Western countries is apparent. However, this does not mean that there are not other, somewhat unbiased and objective, segments of public opinion in these countries. But to see how these segments of public opinion approach the truth, we must also gain an understanding of them and their impact.

The Vietnam war continues to be an emotionally charged topic in U.S. public opinion. Following a period of avoiding the issue and wanting to forget the war, there has come a desire to understand and reassess what happened, a desire to find precise answers for history and draw lessons for the present and future concerning the role and actions of the United States so that the United States avoids "a second Vietnam" and establishes "better relations" between itself and the developing countries.

At seminars and in the U.S. press, more than a few American intellectuals have voiced the opinion that the Vietnam war was "the largest and most costly but least successful war in U.S. history," is "the most talked about conflict

since World War II," is "the conflict that has been the subject of more films than any other in the world."

Henri de Turenne, the French cinematographer who produced the television documentary "Vietnam," a six hour, six installment production, wrote in the introduction: "Never has an historic event aroused such passionate feelings as the Vietnam war... Vietnam jogged the memories of nations and mobilized world opinion for 10 years... During the 1960's from Berlin to Tokyo and Paris, Vietnam was the clarion call of outraged youths throughout the world... To this day, the word Vietnam is still charged with emotion..."

In addition to the above film, Michael Maclear has also produced a 13 hour film series entitled "Vietnam: a Television History." The producer of this long film said: "I was a correspondent in Vietnam for quite a long time. My desire is to describe the forces behind military events and how the United States became bogged down in Vietnam."

Along with seminars and films, numerous lengthy books have also been published that analyze U.S. involvement in Vietnam, such as "Vietnam: a History" by Stanley Karnow, 750 pages; "Without Honor" by Arnold R. Isaacs, 559 pages; "A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War" by Harry G. Summers, 225 pages... Mention can also be made of the introduction and development of Vietnamese studies at colleges and research centers in the United States and a number of other Western countries, which encompass a rather broad range of subjects in the fields of Vietnamese history, culture, politics and society from ancient to modern times.

Of course, we cannot be so naive as to think that all this interest in learning about and studying Vietnam in the United States and other Western countries stems from good will or a desire to truly learn about us. We also cannot exclude the possibility of imperialist administrations using cultural and scientific exchanges as a cover for intelligence and spy operations. Nevertheless, the victory of historical and epochal significance that we won faces the different social strata of the United States and the Western world with many issues that must be examined and re-evaluated in order to develop a new understanding of Vietnam. The militant nature of overseas ideological and propaganda efforts demands that we effectively and actively participate, from the very outset, in the formation of the world's new understanding of Vietnam. Many of our international friends who want to fight for Vietnam on the information and public opinion fronts frequently complain that they receive very little information from us concerning our country. They have offered us a word of sincere advice that is worthy of our consideration: they advise us not to wait until minds have been captured by other information from other sources as it will then be necessary to make extensive efforts to change, to erase a perception of us that has already been created, has already formed. Taking up our position on the public opinion front when there is still a desire to learn and accept information about us is the most reasonable and intelligent approach we can take!

Taking the initiative in the struggle against incorrect views just as a new perception of Vietnam (as well as Vietnamese studies) is in the process of forming is a part of the ideological struggle in the international arena to

which appropriate importance must be attached. This struggle is both a complex and delicate struggle. Due to the lack of adequate sources of accurate materials, due to limitations stemming from their stand and viewpoints and due to bourgeois prejudices, more than a few persons in the world still view us in a way that is essentially incorrect, including persons who once devoted themselves to the struggle against the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam. They were not happy when they saw their illusions about "a Yugoslavia in Asia, independent of both Moscow and Beijing" shattered. They maintain that "when it became the unconditional ally of the Soviet Union, Hanoi gradually lost its two main cards, the friendship of China and the sympathy that Western countries expressed throughout the 35 years of war." There are more than a few incorrect explanations of the essence of the strategic alliance among the three countries of Indochina, the essence of the Cambodian situation, of the relations between Vietnam and China today. We cannot wait for a quick and ready acceptance of our views, but must be prepared to conduct a frank and honest dialogue with persons of conscience who truly want to learn the truth about our country.

Experience has shown that if we are well prepared and provide good guidance so that we can achieve a suitable and correct coordination with political and diplomatic activities, scientific contacts and seminars and cultural and art exchanges will have a good impact in introducing Vietnam within world opinion, which includes rectifying or erasing some misconceptions and prejudices that some persons acquired in years past as a result of the lack of basic information and the failure to engage in a direct dialogue with us.

Whereas presenting to foreigners the war waged by our people against the U.S. aggressors and the significance and historic lessons of that war is not an easy or simple thing to do, presenting the socialist construction now underway in our country to foreigners is much more difficult and complex. Approving and supporting the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese do not inevitably lead to approving and supporting our selection of the path of socialist development. Involved here are the matters of class stand and viewpoint, the complex and difficult issues encountered in the process of carrying out the socialist revolution when the starting point is small-scale production, the consequences of the war and the shortcomings that are difficult to avoid in charting a new course. Also involved here is a huge arsenal of tactics and allegations against scientific communism and real socialism in conjunction with endorsements and embellishments of capitalism. Of course, the most effective way to introduce our country to foreign countries is to overcome the difficulties and successfully resolve the new and complex problems of our life itself. At the same time, we must be more scientific, candid, exact and artful in the dialogue that we hold in our work of presenting our country to foreign countries and must combine this with promptly and sharply criticizing the misrepresentations and false accusations against our country by international reactionaries.



# FOOTNOTES

1. See Vietnam News Agency materials dated 25 May 1984: NEWSWEEK correspondent interview with Pham Van Dong.

2. Ibid.

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## A LOOK BACK ON THE WORLD SITUATION IN 1985

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 86 pp 103-106

[Article by Phan Doan]

[Text] With the start of 1985, we embarked on the final 15 years of the 20th century. A look back on the development of the world situation during this century, especially since the October Revolution, shows that the world has taken a leap forward every 25 to 30 years. The last of these leaps forward brought the world into a new period: the post-Vietnam period, which began in the early 1970's. From this standpoint, it can be said that 1985 was a year of special importance because it marked the middle of the post-Vietnam period. Therefore, a careful analysis of the situation in 1985 will show us the trend of development of the world situation today and in the remaining years of this decade.

The most salient feature of the world situation in 1985 was the growth of the three revolutionary currents, especially of the socialist system, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union. This was the decisive factor in the fundamental change in the comparison of world forces that occurred. Following 15 years of challenges, especially during the past 7 years, the military-strategic East-West balance that formed in the early 1970's became firmly established in 1985. This was an historic event that marked a turning point in the world situation and international relations. From the time of the October Revolution up until 1985, for a period of slightly less than 68 years, the fight waged by the people of the world for peace, national independence and socialism took place against the background of a balance of forces that somewhat favored imperialism and reactionary powers. With the firm establishment of military-strategic balance between the East and the West, the people of the world won an important victory in this stage of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, together with the other forces of peace and revolution, possessed the real ability to prevent a new world war and maintain peaceful international conditions for socialist and communist construction. Against this background, the CPSU presented a revised draft of its program with a view toward completing socialist construction in the Soviet Union between now and the end of the century.

Another salient feature of the situation in 1985 was that the trend toward the relaxation of tensions and dialogue pushed back the trend toward confrontation, thus forcing the most reactionary imperialist powers to enter into a dialogue, the pinnacle of which was the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in November 1985. We know that Soviet-U.S. relations have seriously deteriorated over the past six and one-half years as a result of the constant creation of tensions by the U.S. imperialists and international reactionary powers in a vain attempt to reverse the trend of development in the world following Vietnam. However, each insane scheme and action of theirs has only brought them an increasingly tragic defeat. The U.S. imperialists have been unable to achieve military-strategic superiority in the world. The United States also suffered defeats in its attempt to crush national struggles, which they call "regional issues," in its plan to undermine detente in Europe and in its attempt to re-establish U.S. leadership over its allies. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists were unable to set the Western imperialist countries against the Soviet Union and break the two-power alignment. By siding with the United States, China has not only isolated itself in the Third World, but also failed to achieve its ambition of becoming a third power competing against the Soviet Union and the United States. China also failed in its attempt to create tensions and bring about confrontation in Southeast Asia. China's plan to rely entirely upon the West to carry out the four modernizations was clearly a failure in 1985. Meanwhile, the three revolutionary currents continued their strong development. The world movement against the arms race, for peace and the relaxation of tensions was stronger than ever before. Although the U.S. imperialists and China made every effort to misrepresent the Soviet Union as a "threat" to other nations, as the "kingdom of all evil," the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union continuously grew throughout the world. This situation forced the United States and China, beginning in late 1982, to give consideration to a dialogue with the Soviet Union. This was the process that led to the important changes that occurred in the world situation and international relations in 1985, the most important event during which was the meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Gorbachev and U.S. President Reagan. Although the statement produced by the 1985 Soviet-U.S. summit meeting did not reflect specific results concerning the issue of ending the arms race, especially the arms race in space, and the issue of disarmament, as the 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1979 Soviet-U.S. summit meetings did, and although the pledges made by the two sides, especially the pledge by the United States to not allow a conventional or nuclear war to occur between the Soviet Union and itself, were only restatements of pledges recorded in previous treaties and agreements between the two countries, this joint Soviet-U.S. statement is of important significance in that it marks the end of the second cold war and ushers in a new period in the relaxation of tensions in the world. It lays the political and legal groundwork for nations to continue the struggle to force the imperialist and reactionary powers, the leader of whom is the United States, to take the common aspirations of the people of the world into consideration. The improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations as well as the significant improvements in the relations between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, between the Soviet Union and Japan that occurred in 1985 profoundly influenced all international relations.

Concerning this issue, it is worth mentioning what China's attitude is toward the questions of peace, war and Soviet-U.S. detente. For the first time in the history of the People's Republic of China, China welcomed, at least on the surface, the Soviet-U.S. summit and the relaxation of international tensions. This shows that although their nature as expansionists and hegemonists has not changed, those who are in power in China cannot go against the common trend among the people of the world, namely, the desire for peace and the improvement of the world situation. It also shows that, with international circumstances having changed, China has failed in its effort to exploit the antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the revolution and counter-revolution by taking the approach of "sitting atop a mountain and watching two tigers fight it out." On the other hand, China surely sees that if the United States continues to pursue the arms race without limits, especially the militarization of space, the large country that stands to be hurt the most is China itself. China's tiny nuclear arsenal will become a child's toybox at a time when the military-strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States is being maintained and raised to a higher level. From the above analysis, it is clear to us that China's leaders did not hail the Soviet-U.S. summit solely because they have an ardent desire for peace. Their evil character is evident in the fact that they are always trying to "play both sides against the middle" and provoke antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the United States. They are always setting conditions for the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union while making continuous concessions to the United States on the Taiwan issue. They have vigorously attacked the Soviet Union over the continued presence of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, the purpose of which is to help the people of Afghanistan resist foreign aggression and intervention, but yet have never once demanded that the United States withdraw U.S. forces from South Korea, even though the presence of these forces there is the main obstacle faced by the people of Korea in their struggle to bring about the peaceful reunification of their country.

The steady development of the non-aligned movement in the face of the counter-attack by imperialism and the other reactionary powers was also one of the salient features of the world situation in 1985. As we know, in recent years, along with creating a tense situation in the world, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have focused the thrust of their counter-attack against the national liberation and national independence movements. The non-aligned movement has become one of their targets. They have sought to sabotage this movement from within, their aim being to direct the movement away from anti-imperialism to opposing the "two superpowers," which essentially means being against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. On the other hand, they have provoked conflicts between member countries of this movement, split the movement and provoked antagonisms within it in a vain attempt to conceal the antagonisms that exist between the non-aligned movement and imperialism's policies of aggression, intervention and economic exploitation. Especially serious is the fact that they have focused their efforts on attacking positive, hard core members of the non-aligned movement, such as Cuba, India, Vietnam, etc. They have made every effort to support the reactionaries in India in stirring unrest within that country, the peak of which was the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at a time when India was chairman of the non-aligned movement. Their hope was that if the situation in India was unstable, the activities of the non-aligned

movement would also be paralyzed. However, the situation unfolded in a way contrary to their desires. Under the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, India was quickly stabilized. It has continued to play its positive role as chairman of the non-aligned movement. The selection of Zimbabwe as the site of the 8th High Level Conference of the Non-aligned Movement as well as, prior to that, the holding of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned countries in Luanda, the capital of Angola--places that are the scenes of the most bitter struggles today between the national liberation movement and the regional gendarme, the most ruthless lackey of the U.S. imperialists, the apartheid racists--has been and will continue to have a major impact in mobilizing the entire world to support the just cause of the people of the countries of South Africa as well as the other nations that are locked in a struggle for survival with imperialist and reactionary powers.

The development of the situation in Asia-Pacific toward peace and stability was also deserving of attention. This is one of the two most important regions in the world. During the past 40 years, in contrast to Europe, Asia-Pacific has been the scene of one war after another, the scene of very bitter and long wars, has been the region in the world where tensions have been the highest. During the past 7 years, due to the counter-attack launched by the U.S. imperialists and the collaboration between the Chinese reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists and Japan, Asia-Pacific has continued to be the scene of more "hotbeds" than any other region in the world. With the United States being forced to enter into a dialogue with the Soviet Union, the partial improvement in Sino-Soviet relations, the better relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, Australia, ASEAN and so forth, new developments toward peaceful coexistence occurred in Asia-Pacific. Of important significance was the fact that the anti-nuclear movement in the countries of the southwestern Pacific, represented by New Zealand, caused another crack to develop in the military alliance of the United States in this region and dealt an important blow to the strategy of imperialism in Asia-Pacific. The new developments in Asia-Pacific had a profound impact upon the situation in Southeast Asia, giving strong impetus to the trends toward dialogue and peaceful coexistence within this region in 1985, in contrast to each design of the imperialists and the expansionists-hegemonists.

Besides the major changes mentioned above, the realities of 1985 also showed that the people of the world, especially the forces of peace and revolution, still face major challenges. The arms race launched by the U.S. imperialists is continuing. The danger of war, both conventional war and nuclear war, still threatens the people of the entire world. The U.S. imperialists have not abandoned their "star wars" program and continue to look for every way to oppose the interests of other nations. Regions such as South Africa, Central America, the Middle East...continue to be hot spots as a result of the policies of aggression and intervention of imperialist and reactionary powers. The other large and serious challenges to nations today are economic issues. The year 1985 was a year filled with misfortune for the developing countries. These countries currently owe foreign countries about 1 trillion dollars. This huge debt, which stems from the unjust international economic order, mainly from the unreasonable prices for agricultural products and industrial goods imposed by the imperialists, weighs heavily upon the people of these

countries as they make every effort to develop their economy and improve their standard of living. On the other hand, because they no longer possess military superiority, imperialist and international reactionary powers have shifted to the tactic of using a combination of military, economic, cultural and social pressures to seek revenge against the forces of peace and revolution. In particular, they have been make extensive efforts to use economic weapons, a field in which they possess temporary superiority, and the latest scientific and technical achievements to prolong their existence and achieve their ambitions with regard to conquering the peoples of other countries. The new situation demands that the forces of peace, national independence and socialism constantly display high vigilance and carry out the broadest possible campaign involving the most effective measures possible with the aims of demanding an end to the arms race and the destruction of nuclear weapons on the planet, preventing the militarization of space and establishing a widespread atmosphere of peace, coexistence and international cooperation. On the other hand, they must concentrate on resolving socio-economic issues and make every effort to apply the latest scientific and technical achievements with a view toward raising labor productivity, accelerating the development of production in depth, developing the economy and improving the standard of living.

The international situation in 1985 showed that, from this point onward, the forces of peace and revolution not only possess the strength of the trends of our times, but also the strength of a comparison of forces that has changed. This proves that although the struggle for peace and against war will continue to be a very arduous and bitter struggle, its prospects are good. Of course, these prospects also depend upon the will and strength that nations, most importantly the socialist countries, bring to the implementation of peace and revolutionary platforms, platforms that bring about a basic turning point in their socio-economic development and expand the stable balance that now exists between the East and the West in the military-strategic field to the socio-economic field and the scientific-technical field.

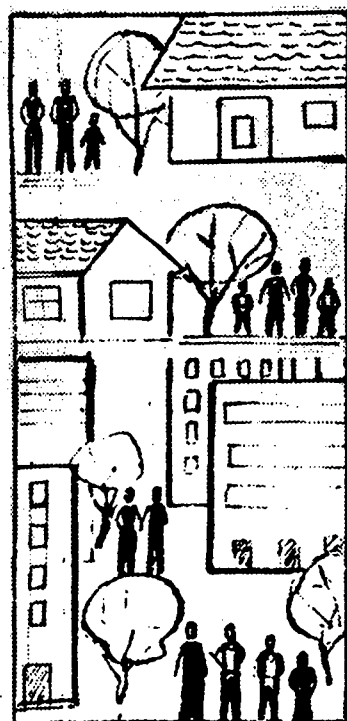
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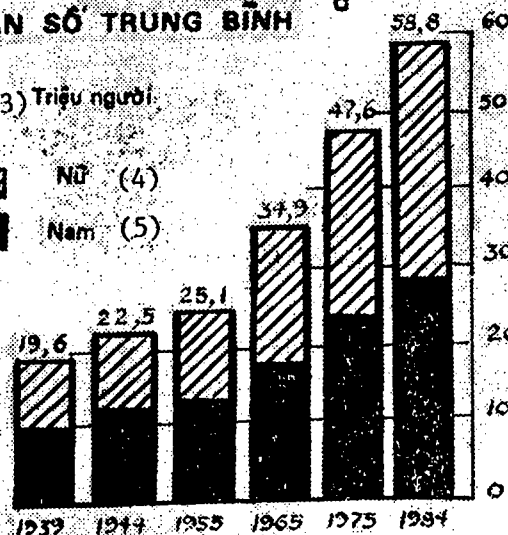


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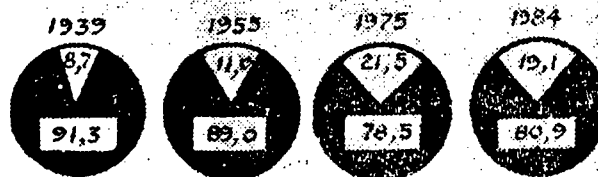
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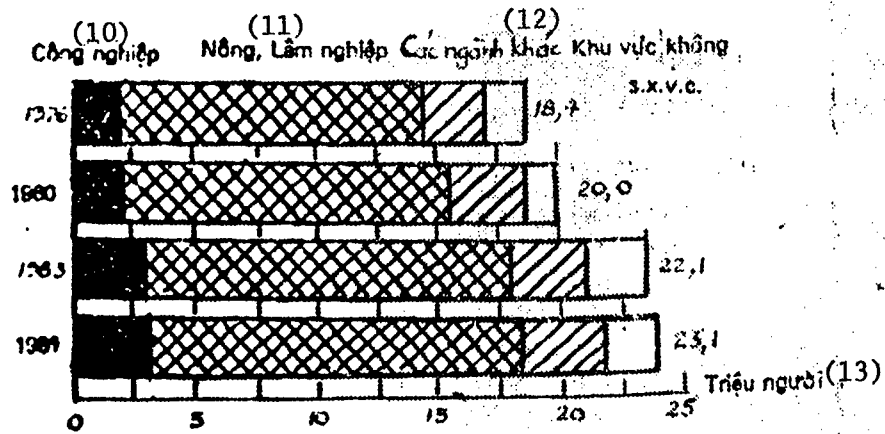
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